

Mr. LE CLERC'S

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Earl of Clarendon's

HISTORY

OF THE

CIVIL WARS.

Done from the *French*, Printed at
Amsterdam.

By J. O.

The Second and Last P A R T.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Bernard Lintott*, at the *Cross-Keys*,
between the *Two Temple-Gates*, in *Fleet-*
street. 1710,

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MR. Le Clerc having express'd his Wishes that my Lord Clarendon had set forth what the High-Commission-Court was, and yet having himself quoted that Part of the History which gives an account of it, I shall take for granted he meant the Star-Chamber, instead of the High-Commission-Court; and for his satisfaction therein, shall transcribe what my Lord Bacon says of that Court, in his History of Henry the VIIth. "The Authority of the Star-Chamber, which before subsisted by the Ancient Common-Laws of the Realm, was confirm'd in certain Cases, by Act of Parliament, (tempore Hen. 7.) This Court is one of the Sagest and Noblest Institutions of this Kingdom. For in the Distribution of Courts of ordinary Justice, (besides the High-Court of Parliament) in which Distribution the King's Bench holdeth the Pleas of the Crown, the Common-Place Pleas Civil, the Exchequer Pleas concerning the King's-Revenue, and the Chancery the Pretorian Power for mitigating the Rigour of Law, in Case of Extremity, by the Conscience of a good Man; there was ne-

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“ vertheless always reserv’d a high and prebe-
“ minent Power to the King’s Council, in Causes
“ that might in Example, or Consequence, con-
“ cern the State of the Common-wealth, which,
“ if they were Criminal, the Council us’d to sit
“ in the Chamber call’d the Star-Chamber; if
“ Civil, in the White-Chamber, or Whitehal:
“ And as the Chancery had the Pretorian Pow-
“ er for Equity, so the Star-Chamber had the
“ Censorian Power for Offences, under the de-
“ gree of Capital. This Court of Star-Cham-
“ ber is compounded of good Elements; for it
“ consisteth of four kinds of Persons; Counsel-
“ lers, Peers, Prelates, and Chief-Judges. It
“ discerneth also principally of four kinds of Causes,
“ Forces, Frauds, Crimes various of Stellationate, and
“ the Inchoations, or middle Acts towards Crimes
“ capital, or bainous, not actually committed or
“ perpetrated; but that which was principally
“ aim’d at by this Act, was Force, and the two
“ chief Supports of Force, Combination of Mul-
“ titudes, and Maintenance, or Headship of
“ Great Persons.

As for the Act abolishing the Law of Knight-
hood, which Mr. Le Clerc likewise declares him-
self at a loss to know the import of; I suppose
my Lord means the Stat. 16, 17 Car. I. “ That
“ none should be thence-forward compell’d by
“ Writ, or otherwise, to take upon him the Order
“ of Knighthood, and all Proceedings concerning
“ the same should be void.

Mr.

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Mr. Le Clerc, (Page 13.) says, The Bishops receiv'd the Reformation in England. With submission to Mr. Le Clerc, it appears from Bishop Burnet's History; and all other Accounts of those Times, that the Reformation did not meet with that voluntary, unanimous, and unbiass'd Concurrence from the Bishops, as some may apprehend from the Word Reception. Some other Observations of Mr. Le Clerc's may perhaps admit of a qualify'd Sense, but I shall not anticipate the judicious Reader.

As for the Purchase-Money, paid by France, for Dunkirk; tho' Mr. Le Clerc quotes an Author of undoubted Credit, (the Abbot Desmarais) I shall add, That there was a Medal struck, upon that occasion, in France, and the same is plac'd among the Great Events of the French King's Reign. I forget the Motto of the Medal. The Book which I saw, belong'd to a Person truly Noble. I was inform'd it was presented by the French King, to a Foreign Minister at his Court. It is the History of Lewis the XIVth. by way of Medals, and comes down to the Year 1700, since which (I take it) to use one of their own Proverbs, the Medal is revers'd. The Book is full of the grossest Flattery and Vanity. What it says about the Sale of Dunkirk, is perhaps one of the truest Things in it. I remember it boasts that their August Monarch got Possession of the strongest Fortrefs in the World at the cheap Price of five Millions of Livres.

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The Abbot Desmarais's Book being none of the commonest to be had, I shall give the Reader a Translation of that part of it which concerns the Business of Dunkirk. "Whilst the Affairs of Italy (he speaks of the Duke de Crequy's) were thus managing without Success, the King had concluded a very important one with the King of England; which was what he had in view, when, in his Letter written in Cypher, of the 15th of September, he told the Duke de Crequy, That one Reason which made him the more desirous to have Things accommodated, was the fear lest his Quarrel with Rome might cross the Measures he was taking, for Designs of quite another Consideration. "He had got out of the Hands of the English, for five Millions of Livres (prompt Payment) Dunkirk, Mardik, and the Fort Bergue, which the Conjunction of the times had formerly oblig'd him to deliver up to them: and thereby, (besides the Advantage; Of sending away the English, who might, in a Tide, throw ten thousand Men into the Kingdom; Of removing this Prospect from the Hugonot Party, and such a Refuge from all sorts of Malcontents; and, Of acquiring a considerable Port in a Coast where France had not, properly, Any;) he advantageously repair'd the Damage, which the Benefit of a Peace had, as it were, forc'd him to do at that time to Religion.

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He goes on ———

“ There is not perhaps any Example that one
“ State did ever gain from another, without War,
“ a Place so important, or that five Millions of
“ of Livres shou’d be paid down on the Nail all at
“ once ; and yet perhaps these were not the most
“ remarkable Circumstances of that Acquisition.
“ The Count d’ Estrades, who had manag’d the
“ Treaty in England, where he was Amba-
“ sador, and afterwards Mareschal of France,
“ had stipulated that the Payment should not be
“ made till the Day after the Evacuation of
“ the Places ; and for the Security of the same
“ he offer’d to remain in Hostage, and to pro-
“ cure to be sent into England such other Hosta-
“ ges as should be desired. But the King of
“ England declar’d, He would have None, and
“ that he valu’d the bare Word of the most
“ Christian King More than all the Hostages in
“ the World. The Treaty was afterwards Pun-
“ ctually and Faithfully executed on both sides.
“ The Court of Rome would perhaps, at ano-
“ ther time, have given Signs of Joy to see a Place
“ of that Consequence return’d into the Hands
“ of a Catholick Prince ; but as Affairs then stood,
“ the two Courts being fall’n out, they look’d upon
“ that Acquisition only as it was advantageous
“ to France, and consequently receiv’d the News,
“ not without some sort of Dissatisfaction,

The Reader will find, that wherever Mr. Le
Clerc has done no more than turn’d my Lord’s
Words into French, I have preserv’d the same in
English ;

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English; for I had not the Vanity to think I could mend them by any Version of mine.

The furious Haste of the Bookseller has been the Occasion of some few Errors of the Press: But they are too obvious to need any particular Reflection. I have no Opinion of the word Scotch, nor indeed of Scottish; I think my Lord uses Scots, throughout; I therefore desire it may be read so, wherever it is otherwise.

J. Ozell.

The Reader will find, that wherever Mr. Le Clerc has done no more than turnish my Lord's Words into French, I have preserved the same in English.

Mr. LE CLERC'S
ACCOUNT
OF THE
Earl of Clarendon's
HISTORY of the CIVIL WARS.

PART II.

WE have already given an Abridgment of the Eight first Books of my Lord Clarendon's History: But the Events that follow'd being too remarkable to break off there, we shall present the Remainder in as few Words as possible.

IX. THE Author enters upon the Subject with some Uneasiness, as foreseeing (unless he would swerve from the duty of a good Historian) that he shou'd be oblig'd in writing the History of the Year 1645, to give very severe Characters ev'n of those who were of the King's side, and who wish'd his Majesty very well. It is certain *Charles* the First was extremely ill advis'd, and ill serv'd, and that a great number of those who followed him, study'd their own Interest more than his, which they sacrific'd to their private Regards. He owns it was not possible to discourse of all these Particulars, tho' necessary to be known, without opening a Door for such Reflections upon the King himself, as may call both his Wisdom and Steadiness into question ;

as if he had wanted the One to *apprehend*, and the Other to *prevent* the Mischiefs that beset him. However, our Chancellor being engag'd in this Work by the King's Special Order, thought himself oblig'd not to give over his Undertaking. He protests he delivers nothing but the Truth, and that he has no manner of quarrel with those whom he is oblig'd to censure; and as to the King himself, he says, that without endeavouring to absolve him from those Mistakes and Weaknesses to which he might be liable "He will be found not only a Prince of admirable Vertue and Piety, but of great Knowledge and Judgment. His most signal Misfortunes, (according to our Historian) proceeded from his Modesty, and the diffidence he had of himself, which made him believe that others, who were much inferior to him in those Faculties, discern'd things better than himself, and so to depart often from his own Reason, to follow the Opinions of more unskilful Men, whose Affections he believ'd to be unquestionable to his Service.

* To which may be added, that his Party did not take sufficient care to secure the People against the fear of Consequences drawn from what they call in *England* *The Prerogative*, which they looked upon as the Source of absolute Power. It was likewise believ'd, that those who in any eminent degree had appear'd for the Parliament, wou'd never be safe if the King shou'd be able to recover his Authority. No body doubts, that if this Prince had got the upper-hand by a Victory, he wou'd have been as absolute as any of his neighbour Monarchs: Hence grew the Obstinacy of the Parliament.

The House of Commons having pass'd the *Self-denying Ordinance*, mention'd above, it was carry'd to the Upper-House, who pass'd it without much opposition, according to the Maxim of those Times, *That it would be of dangerous consequence to oppose the Resolutions of the House of Commons*. By this, the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester* and *Denbigh*, Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Massey*, and *Cromwel* himself were oblig'd to dispose themselves to lay down their Commands. Sir *Tho. Fairfax* was declared General, ev'n before the Earl of *Essex* had surrendred his Commission which he did a short time after, as likewise the other Officers, except *Cromwel*, who before that, had, by his Friends, procur'd an Order for his going immediately to the relief of *Taunton*. The others having resign'd, *Oliver* got himself recall'd, to assist

in Parliament, and the new General being to take a Review of the Army, and to fill up the Vacancies, pray'd the Parliament to give Lieutenant General *Cromwel* leave to stay with him for some few Days, for his better Information in the choice of Officers. This Request was granted without any difficulty, and, a few Days after, he desired with very much Earnestness, "that they wou'd allow *Cromwel* to make " that Campaign; which was likewise obtain'd. Thus *Cromwel* kept his Command, and, under the Name of *Fairfax*, put in such Officers as were known to no body but himself, and absolutely govern'd the whole Martial Affairs, as was soon after notorious to all Men.

Tho' these Alterations had spent a great deal of Time, the King's Party made no manner of advantage of it. The People in the *West of England*, where the Prince of *Wales* was, fell out among themselves, and were wanting in the performance of the Promises they had made to him. The Commanders of the King's Troops likewise acquitted themselves very ill of their Duty, as may be seen in the Author, who enters upon a very particular Discourse of what pass'd there, because he was an Eye-witness of all.

In the mean time the King resolv'd, according to Prince *Rupert's* Advice, to march towards the *North*, and to fall upon the *Scots* in *Yorkshire*, whilst *Fairfax* was taken up with modelling his new Army: 'Twas likewise design'd to relieve *Chester* in their way. The King's Army made some small Conquests in their March, the report of which rais'd the Siege of *Chester*: But *Fairfax*, in the interim, advanc'd towards *Oxford*, and made himself Master of some Posts. The King, on his side, took *Leicester* by Storm, where the Army committed great Disorders. *Leicester* was a Post where the King might conveniently have sat still till his Army had been recruited from the *West*; but he was made to believe that *Oxford* was hard press'd by *Fairfax*, tho' he was not within Canon-shot of it, and it was represented to him weaker than it really was.

The King was desirous to relieve it, and afterwards to attack the Parliament-General, upon these false Accounts; but receiving Intelligence that *Fairfax* was advanced to *Northampton* with a strong Army, His Majesty retir'd to *Harborough*, and meant to have gone back to *Leicester*, that he might draw more Foot out of *Newark*, and stand upon his defence, till the other Forces he expected should come up: But that very Night, *June 28, 1645*, Advice was brought that *Fairfax* was within six Miles of the Place.

A Council was presently call'd, the former Resolution laid aside, and a new one as quickly taken, to Fight; to which the King's Troops had always an immoderate Appetite, when the Enemy were within any distance. Next Morning early the Army march'd towards the Enemy, about a Mile South from *Harborough*. It consisted only of 3300 Foot and 4000 Horse; they made a stand upon a rising Ground, of very great advantage, and expected the Enemy till eight a clock in the Morning; but no Enemy appearing, Scouts were sent out to make discovery, who, it seems, went not far enough, but return'd, and averr'd that they could neither discover nor hear any thing of them. Presently a Report was rais'd in the Army, that the Enemy was retired. Thereupon Prince *Rupert*, who commanded the Right-Wing of Horse, put himself at the Head of a Detachment, to pursue 'em. But he had not march'd above a Mile, when he receiv'd certain Intelligence of their advance, and a short time afterwards he saw the Van of their Army, but not so distinctly, but that he conceiv'd they were retiring. Whereupon he advanced nearer with his Horse, and sent back, "That the Army should march up to him. The Messenger who brought the Order, said, "That the Prince desir'd "they would make haste. Thus the advantage Ground was quitted, as also the excellent Order they were in. They had not march'd much above a Mile, but they discern'd the Enemies Horse standing on a high Ground about *Naseby*, where they plac'd themselves with all the advantage they could desire, expecting the King's Army, which was coming into the Plain in their view. Prince *Rupert's* Impatience, and natural Heat, which render'd him incapable of Order and Reflection, put him upon advancing directly upon the Enemy, before the Artillery arriv'd, or the Ground made choice of upon which they were to fight. He at first bore down all before him, and was Master of six Pieces of Canon, which he kept some time. The Lord *Astley* likewise, with his Foot, advanc'd upon their Foot, and put 'em into disorder, tho' posted upon a Hill. On the left Wing Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* engaged *Cromwel*, who had the advantage of the Ground, besides the Odds in number. The King's Horse, however, put themselves in a posture of mounting the Hill which the Enemy were possess'd of, but being flank'd on both sides by the Enemies Horse, and press'd hard before they could get to the top of the Hill, they gave back, and were put to flight, whilst four of the Enemies Squadrons follow'd 'em, that they might not rally again: The rest of *Cromwel's* Horse charg'd

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Part II. of the Earl of Clarendon's History. 9

the King's Foot, who till then had preserv'd their advantage, tho' Prince *Rupert* left 'em alone, that he might pursue those Horse he had broken: The King's Reserve of Horse, which were his own Guards, with himself at the Head of them, were ev'n ready to have charg'd the Enemy's Horse, who pursu'd his Left-Wing, when the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who rode by the King's side, having his Hand on the Bridle of the King's Horse, ask'd him, with two or three *Scotch* Oaths, if he wou'd go upon his Death in an instant? and before his Majesty understood what he would have, turn'd his Horse round. A Word run thro' the Troops, "That they" shou'd march to the Right-hand; which led them from charging the Enemy, or assisting their own Men; so they all turn'd their Horses, and rode upon the Spur, as if every Man were to shift for himself. However, upon the King's Orders, which were sent after them, many of them made a stand. By this time Prince *Rupert* return'd with a good Body of Horse, from the pursuit of the Enemy. He would have had 'em charg'd *Cromwel's* Cavalry, but his Men having, as they thought done their Duty, could not be brought to another Charge. 'Twas observ'd, that from the time *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* commanded the Army, their Troops, if they were broke, would rally, and stand in good Order, ready to renew the Attack, which they were not used to do before; whereas the King's Troops could never be prevail'd upon to make a second Charge the same Day. So that the King was compell'd to quit the Field of Battle, and to leave *Fairfax* Master of all his Foot, Canon, and Baggage, with his most secret Papers and Letters between the Queen and him, of which they shortly after made a * barbarous use by publishing them in print. The King retir'd with his broken Troops to *Hereford*, (where he imagin'd he might be able to raise a new Army, tho' that and the neighbouring Counties had been ruin'd by his own Troops) instead of retiring into the *West*, where he had an Army already form'd, and a People generally well devoted to his service, Prince *Rupert*, for his part, retired towards *Bristol*.

† By this it may be seen, that from the manner of the King's Conduct, and of his being either govern'd or obey'd by his Officers, there was no great likelihood of success. Battles fought by chance, without any concert among the Generals, without Order, without discovering the Posture and Condi-

* Reprinted at London, in 1699, as the end of the 3^d Tome of *Ludlow's Memoirs*. † Mr. Le Clerc.

tion of the Enemy, and without rallying when once beaten, must needs be attended with great Misfortunes.

You may find in our Author an Account of the Animosities and Dissentions that reign'd among the King's Party, (who all sought their own Interests,) in the West of England. About the beginning of July, *Fairfax* enter'd *Somersetshire*, where he fell upon General *Goring's* Army, and entirely routed it, thro' the negligence of him who commanded, who was fitter to be at the Head of a Party than an Army. He had time to refresh himself at *Barnstaple*, whither he retired, without being pursu'd, and might have recover'd his Army, but he fell to his usual Debauchery, and indulg'd in such intollerable Insolence and Licentiousness, that he found himself at last reduc'd almost to nothing. Sir *Richard Greenville's* Management was no better; and the Divisions increas'd ev'ry Day among the Officers: Nor was the Prince of *Wales*, or his Council, either able to appease or conduct 'em.

* All this serv'd to alienate the Peoples Hearts, and to render the King himself odious, as if he had no more Virtue than those who Serv'd him. It was easie for the Parliament to persuade the People, that if ever the King, with such Men about him, shou'd prevail by Arms, *England* wou'd be look'd upon as a conquer'd Country, and be depriv'd of all her Privileges.

Some of the King's Party perceiving things growing worse and worse with 'em, began to have Thoughts of a Peace; and Prince *Rupert* himself, who had more Bravery than Prudence, was of Opinion, a Peace ought to be made. For this purpose he wrote to the Duke of *Richmond*; but the King having seen the Letter, forbade him to think any more of it, because, as things then stood, he cou'd expect no other than a scandalous Peace; and he thought himself oblig'd, in Honour and Conscience, not to accept of less than had been demanded in his Name at *Uxbridge*, nor to recede from what had been offer'd there, let the Consequence be as it might. He likewise wrote to his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, that whenever he shou'd find himself in danger of falling into the Rebels Hands, he shou'd convey himself into *France*, there to live under his Mother's Rule, in all things, except Religion: This Letter is dated Aug. 5. 1645. About the end of September Prince *Rupert* deliver'd up to the Parliament the City of *Bristol*, which was of the last Importance, and which,

as was believ'd, cou'd have sustain'd a Siege of three or four Months. Some Out-Works having been taken Sword in hand, and with a great deal of ease, was what stagger'd the Prince. This was a fatal Blow to the King, whose Troops were afterwards defeated in all Places, as may be seen in the Author; for I cannot descend to the Particulars. The King wrote to his Nephew a Letter, which shews at the same time his Indignation and Moderation, and wherein he orders him to seek his Subsistence beyond Seas. If this Author may be credited, it had been more for the King's advantage not to have employ'd his Nephews at all, for they contributed more than any to the spoiling of his Affairs, thro' Imprudence, and too much Headyness in acting according to their Fancy, without advising with those who knew better, or troubling themselves about Consequences.

The King, after having suffer'd divers Losses, and made many Marches, and not knowing what Course to steer, thought fit to send some Troops into *Scotland*, to the Relief of the Marquis of *Montross*, who was the Chief of the King's Party in that Country, and who had been defeated some time before by *David Lesley*. The King declar'd the Lord *Digby* General of these Forces, without having spoken of it to his Council. This Lord was become as it were Master of the King's Mind, tho' very unfit to advise him in Affairs of so much Danger and Difficulty, or to command an Army. He put himself at the Head of 1500 Horse, with Sir *Marvaduke Langdale*, who was to Command under him, and several others of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry, and march'd presently to *Doncaster*, where he was inform'd that in a Neighbouring Village were about 1000 Foot, new rais'd for the Parliament, which he resolv'd to fall upon the next Morning, and did it so well, that they all threw down their Arms, and dispers'd. Whereupon he pursu'd his March, and being arriv'd at *Sherborne*, stay'd to refresh his Troops. There he had notice that some Troops of Horse, under Colonel *Copley*, were advancing towards him; the Lord *Digby* presently founded to Horse, and march'd directly to the Enemy, whom he inconsiderately attack'd, with those he had with him, not staying for the rest of his Horse. He soon routed some Squadrons, who betook themselves to flight thro' *Sherborne*, where the other Troops were refreshing themselves; who discerning the flight of Horse, in great Consternation, concluded they were their fellow Soldiers, who had been routed by the Enemy, and so with equal Confusion mounted their Horses, and fled as fast as the others. By this means
a Troop

a Troop of Copley's, that remain'd unbroken, fell upon the Lord Digby and those Officers and Gentlemen who were with them, and compell'd them to make their Retreat to Skipton, with the loss of the Lord Digby's Baggage and Papers, which being publish'd by the Parliament, administer'd afterwards so much occasion of discourse. However, most of the scatter'd Troops being got together again at Skipton; he march'd thro' *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, as far as *Dumfriesshire*, in *Scotland*, without any other Misadventure. But not being able to learn any News of *Montrose*, and fearing to fall into the hands of the *Scotch* Army upon the Borders, he bid his Men shift for themselves as well as they cou'd, and embark'd himself, with some Officers, for the *Isle of Man*, and shortly afterwards for *Ireland*. Thus ended the Generalship of the Lord Digby, who, as our Author says, did not fail to applaud himself for having carry'd his Designs so far, tho' he did not succeed. He always charg'd his bad success upon second Causes, which he thought himself not accountable for; and when-ever things went well with him, he imputed it to his own Virtue and Conduct. Thus he found means to clear himself to himself; but the mischief is, His Majesty's Affairs suffer'd by it. The King, after the loss of the Battel of *Naseby*, retir'd from Place to Place, and at length, in *November*, repair'd to *Oxford*, where he had time to repose himself a little, and to take advice of several Lords that were left there.

In *February*, 1646, *Fairfax* entirely defeated the Lord *Hopton's* Army, posted at *Torrington* in *Devonshire*, and this Victory made him in a short time Master of the *West* of *England*. The Prince of *Wales* having stay'd for some Days at *Truro*, went to *Pendennis*, intending only to recreate himself for two or three Days, and to quicken the Works, which were well-advanc'd; but not thinking himself in safety there, retir'd about the middle of *March* into the *Isle of Scilly*, where he continu'd, till it was consulted in what Place he might be in more security. A short time afterwards Duke *Hamilton*, who had been Prisoner in that Castle, and was upon this remov'd to the *Mount*, was set at liberty, after the surrender of it to the Parliament.

The King at this time omitted nothing to come to a Treaty of Peace, in which he was desirous to assist in Person, and endeavor'd also to divide the *Independents*, (who then were very powerful) from the *Presbyterians*; but all to no purpose. The *Scots*, solicited by *France* and the Queen, appear'd dispos'd to side with the King, upon Condition that

he

he would establish the *Presbyterian Government* in *England*, but the King declar'd, he could not, in Conscience, yield to it.

The King had hoped to draw out of the few Garrisons still in his possession, such a Body of Horse and Foot, as might enable him to take the Field early in the Spring; but this was dash'd in the very beginning, by the total defeat of the Lord *Astley*, which happen'd the 11. of *April*, as he was upon his march, and was himself made Prisoner. Nor did there remain, from that time, any possibility for the King to draw any other Troops together in the Field.

X. Sir *Dudley Wyat* had been sent expressly by the Lord *Fermyn*, who was in *France*, to assure the Prince of *Wales*, that Card. *Mazarine* had promis'd to send in less than a Month, 5000 Foot into *Cornwal*. The Prince expected 'em, in vain, till his departure for *Scilly*; where he arriv'd the 14 of *March*, and stay'd till the 26 of *April*, without hearing any News of 'em. The truth is, the Cardinal had given no Orders for it, and had only said in general, that the Marquiss *de Rouvigny* wou'd be a fit Man to command the Troops that shou'd be sent to the relief of the King of *England*. This Lord *Fermyn*, (if our Author may be believ'd) was a credulous Man, and in great favour with the Queen of *England*, whose Affairs however he manag'd very ill.

Fairfax sent a Trumpet to the Prince of *Wales* at *Scilly*, to surrender himself to the Parliament, and the next Morning a Fleet of about 27 Sail encompass'd the Island, and might have been Masters of the Place, if a violent Tempest, which continued two Days, had not dispers'd 'em. Upon this his Highness inclin'd to remove to *Fersey*, and shew'd the Lords of his Council a Letter the King had written to him, after the Battle of *Naseby*, wherein he forbids him, upon his Blessing, in case he himself (*Charles the Ist.*) shou'd be taken by the Rebels, never to yield to any Conditions that were dishonourable, unsafe for his Person, or derogatory to Royal Authority; for that the more Constancy, he (the Prince) shou'd shew, the more security he (the King) shou'd think himself in.

* It appear'd by the Event, that he was deceiv'd every manner of way; and it is surprizing, that he could think of being able to make an advantageous Treaty, after having suffer'd so many Losses, and seen what aversion his Enemies shew'd toward treating with him.

The Prince landed at *Jersey*, 17 April, and from that time the Queen did all she could to get him into *France*. His Council oppos'd it, but at length the Queen carry'd it, as will be seen. At *Jersey* he receiv'd a Letter from the King, recommending to him, (among other things) to be constant to his Religion, and forbidding him to hearken to *Romish Superstitions* (as he words it) because otherwise he wou'd confirm the Slanders that had been spread in *England*, against him and his Father. But *Charles* had not much regard for this last Advice.

The Lord *Digby* went to wait upon the Prince sometime after at *Jersey*, and took upon him to persuade the King to go to *Ireland*, where he said all things were dispos'd for a good Reception of him, and that there was an Army of 12000 Men ready to be transported into *England*; but finding the Prince of *Wales* not at all inclin'd to go to *Ireland*, without the consent of the King and Queen, it enter'd into his Head, to persuade the Queen her self to it. For this purpose he went to *Paris*, to the Queen, who lik'd his Proposal concerning a Request to the King of *France*, for sending succours to *Ireland*, but would not yield to send her Son thither, whom she desir'd to have immediately with her. He likewise attended the Cardinal, who understanding his *Foible*, receiv'd him with all the Ceremony and Demonstration of Respect he could possibly express, but "thought it proper the Prince of *Wales* shou'd come into *France*, after which an Ambassador shou'd be sent into *England*, to reconcile the King and Parliament, or, in the Name of the King of *France*, to declare War against the Parliament; he added, that the Queen of *England* shou'd nominate this Ambassador, to whom my Lord *Digby*, in concert with that Princess, might give what Instructions he thought fit, and that if his Negotiation fail'd of success, they wou'd immediately raise an Army sufficient to enable the Prince of *Wales* to redeem and restore the King his Father.

Digby suffer'd himself to be wheadl'd by these fair Speeches of the Cardinal, who did nothing but cause 6000 *Pistoles* to be paid him, as if he was to go to *Ireland*; but *Digby* had occasion enough for such a Sum, to supply his own necessities. So he return'd to *Jersey*, to persuade the Prince of *Wales* to repair immediately into *France*; and told his Highness's Council (among whom was the Author of this History) all that the Cardinal had promis'd, but could not gain over our Author, as may be seen in the Original.

Mean time the King had dealt with the *Scots*, by means of one Monsieur *Montrevel*, who took the Title of *his most Christian Majesty's Resident in Scotland*. The Commanders of the *Scotch Army* made him a verbal Promise to treat the King as their Sovereign, if he wou'd put himself into their hands, and *Montrevel* with the Consent of the *Scottish Generals*, assur'd the King of it, and actually engag'd that it shou'd be perform'd, by a Writing sign'd with his Hand, April 1. 1646, and in the Name of the King and Queen of *France*; whereas the *Scots* ought to have sign'd their promissory Engagement themselves, and not *Montrevel* for them.

However, the King not knowing which way to turn, attended only by two Persons, puts himself some Days afterwards into the *Scotch Army*, then besieging *Newark*. The General, and the Committee, appear'd extremely surpriz'd to see the King, whom, perhaps, they did not think capable of committing himself to them, upon *Montrevel's* Promise, without some Assurance in Writing from the *Scots* themselves. An Express was presently sent to the Parliament at *Westminster*, to inform them of the unexpected News. The Parliament were no less perplex'd what to do; but being encourag'd by the *Scots Commissioners*, who were at *London*, they wrote a Letter to the *Scots Army*, to expect their farther Orders, and carefully watch the King, that he might not dispose of himself elsewhere. They did indeed treat him with Respect and good Manners enough, but without shewing any thing of Affection or Dependance upon him. The King being apprehensive that *Fairfax*, who was besieging *Oxford*, might be forthwith appointed to decline all other Enterprizes, and to draw near the *Scotch Army*, in order to join, and make themselves Masters of his Person, forthwith gave Order to the Lord *Bellasis*, to surrender *Newark* to the *Scotch*; which being executed, he march'd with the Army to *Newcastle*. "It was an Observation, at that time, (says our Author) "that the first publishing of extraordinary "News was from the Pulpit; and by the Preacher's Text, "and his manner of discourse upon it, the Auditors might "judge, and commonly foresaw what was like to be next "done in the Parliament, or Council of State. The first "Sermon that was preach'd before the King, after the Army "rose from *Newark*, to march Northwards, was upon the 19th Cap. 2^d Book of *Samuel*, the 41, 42, 43 Verses; where (as Mr. *Le Clerc* observes) there was a Contest arisen between the Tribe of *Judah* and the others, occasion'd by the

Tribe of *Judah's* bringing back *David*, without asking the Men of *Israel's* Advice.

The Mischief on't is, that neither the *Scotch* nor *English* had any Thoughts of re-establishing the King. Whatever the Preacher said concerning the *Scots* Design to keep the King, and to adhere to him, *Monf. Montrevel* was restrain'd from seeing him, his Complaints of the Breach of their Promise laugh'd at; and *Mr. Ashburnham*, who came with the King, was advis'd to shift for himself, or else he should be deliver'd up to the Parliament, which oblig'd both of them to go into *France*.

A short time afterwards the Prince of *Wales* yielding to the Persuasions of the Lords *Fermyn* and *Digby*, resolv'd to go into *France*, notwithstanding the Arguments of the rest of his Council who oppos'd it, to no purpose, and who were of opinion, that from that time the Commission they had to accompany him as his Council, was at an end.

The Parliament of *England* having made sharp Instances to the *Scotch*, that the King might be deliver'd into their Hands, the Council of *Scotland* refus'd it at first with Courage enough, but tho' the King receiv'd all outward Respect, he was in truth in the Condition of a Prisoner. Thus they prevail'd with him to send his positive Orders to the Marquis of *Montross* to lay down his Arms, which he did; shortly afterwards he commanded the same thing to those who held *Oxford* for him, and some other Garrisons, which by his Order surrendred, one after another. Thus the King found himself intirely disarm'd, and at the Mercy of his Subjects, yet without having won their Affection by this sort of Confidence.

The *Scotch* used all manner of Means to persuade the King to consent to the Extirpation of Episcopacy in *England*, and it was believ'd, that if his Majesty would have done that, they would either have had a Party in the Parliament at *Westminster*, who would have been satisfy'd therewith, or that they would thereupon have declared for the King, and have presently join'd with the Loyal Party in all Places for his Majesty's Defence; but the King would never buy his Peace at that Price, and even disputed very strenuously against the Presbyterian Ministers upon that Subject: And our Author farther tells us, that he was so much too hard for *Alexander Henderson*, and the old Man himself so far convinc'd and converted by his Majesty, and had so deep a sense of the Mischief he himself had been the Author of, or too much contributed to, that he shortly after dy'd with Grief and Remorse.

* And

* And indeed there were no good Reasons for destroying the Episcopal Order, in a Country where the Bishops receiv'd the Reformation; but on the contrary a great many very strong ones, not to depart from the ancient manner of Church-Government, to introduce Presbytery.

Whilst the King stay'd at *Newcastle*, the President *Bellievre* the French Ambassador, arriv'd at *London*, where, instead of talking boldly to the Parliament, as the Cardinal had promis'd the Lord *Digby* he should, he made his Court to them in all the low Applications that can be imagin'd, and industriously convers'd with the principal Leaders of the Presbyterian Party in the Parliament, and with the Scotch Commissioners; from whose Information he took all his Measures, and they assured him that nothing could be done for the King, except he would extirpate Episcopacy, and grant all the Lands belonging to the Cathedral Churches to such Uses as the Parliament should advise. The Ambassador, when he came to the King, press'd him very earnestly to this Condescension; the Queen likewise sent to his Majesty to persuade him to the same, but he rejected all that was said to him, with Indignation.

† 'Tis strange, that being of this Disposition he should put himself into the Hands of such People who could not but be disgust'd with him, and look on him as an irreconcilable Enemy. In all probability he hop'd by his Resolution to conquer the Obstinacy of his Subjects, whom he did not sufficiently know, else it had been better for him to have quitted the Kingdom, than to expose himself in it as he did.

Thus *Monf. de Bellievre* was able to do nothing for the King in *England*. The Prince of *Wales*, now in *France*, was very ill receiv'd at *Paris*, tho' the French Court had desired his Coming. Our Historian is of Opinion, that Cardinal *Mazarine* drew him thither to pleasure the Parliament and the Officers of the Army, whom he stood in fear of; and that the Cardinal then laid the Foundation for that Friendship, which was shortly after built up between him and *Cromwel*, by promising, "That they should receive less Inconvenience by the Princes remaining in *France*, than if he were in any other Part of *Europe*; and for this Reason it was that they treated him during his whole stay in *France* with very little respect, and very careful they were, that he might not be look'd upon as supported by them, and for his Maintenance

made only a mean Addition to the Pension the Queen his Mother before enjoy'd.

* The Chancellor can by no means forgive *France* for this Usage; but if a Prince of *France* had in the like Circumstances retired into *England*, I know not whether he would have been much better received. The *French*, being Roman Catholics, had no more respect for the Bishops of *England*, whom, according to their Principles, they look'd upon as *Hereticks*, than for the *Presbyterians*, who were not more odious to them upon Account of some farther Degrees of Heresie. In this Disposition they laugh'd at the King's Constancy, and did not believe they ought to engage in a War, only for the sake of making the Government of an Heretical Country Episcopal; for, in short, this seem'd to them to be all the Obstacle; which the King himself threw into the way of his Re-establishment: Besides, according to the common Maxims of Policy, the Intestine Divisions of a Nation are look'd upon as Advantageous to the Neighbouring States, provided they forbear meddling in them. I very much doubt, whether a King of *England* or his Ministers would have gain'd much Honour in their Country, by endeavouring to restore Peace in *France*, had it been divided in the same manner. Queen *Elizabeth* was never very eager to procure Peace in the *Netherlands*, and no body blam'd her for it, but the *Spaniards*, who were Interest'd, and who however used her in the same manner, with respect to *Ireland*. Our Chancellor therefore might have pardoned Cardinal *Mazarine* in this, and not have exacted from him a Generosity, which is not commonly required from any Minister or any Prince.

The Parliament of *England* made Propositions of Peace to the King, which contain'd the Destruction of the Episcopal Hierarchy, and other Concessions prejudicial to the Royal Authority. The Chancellor of *Scotland* maintain'd them very strenuously, and spoke to the King in very rough Terms; but the King was inflexible, tho' he had no Expectation of Relief, at least such as carry'd any probability of Success along with it.

The Parliament again requiring the *Scotch* to deliver up the Person of the King, with promise to use him well; the *Scotch* appear'd offended at it, and some hard Words pass'd on both sides; but 200000 *l.* appeas'd them, and they deliver'd the King up in *January* 1647. He was conducted from *Newcastle* to *Holmby* in *Northamptonshire* with a good

* Le Clerc.

Guard and a Committee to observe what pass'd; they treated him with respect enough, and left him sufficient liberty, only they did not suffer any to be near him whom they cou'd not confide in; and impos'd *Presbyterian* Ministers upon him instead of his own Chaplains: But his Majesty utterly refus'd to be present at their Devotions, and satisfy'd himself at those Hours to be his own Chaplain, in his Bed-Chamber, where he constantly said the Common-Prayer by himself.

The War being thus at an end, the Chiefs of the *Presbyterian* Party in Parliament, had Thoughts of reducing the Army, by disbanding some Troops, and sending others into *Ireland*; but the Army was full of *Fanatics*, who by no means approv'd of the *Presbyterian* Government, now set up, and who cou'd not endure that the Parliament, who by their means, and no other, had been rais'd to that degree of Authority they then enjoy'd, should disband *them* when they thought fit. They did not at all like a Project which would have entirely submitted them to the Discretion of the *Presbyterians*, from whom they had no reason to expect any Favour. *Cromwel*, who had a very great Power in the Army, did under-hand stir up and inflame the Minds of those Men against the Parliament: "He himself, and his Officers, "took upon 'em to preach and pray publickly to their "Troops, and admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army, "but such as bitterly inveigh'd against the *Presbyterian* Government as more tyrannical than *Episcopacy*; and the "common Soldiers, as well as the Officers, did not only "pray and preach among themselves, but went up into the "Pulpits in all Churches, and preach'd to the People, who "quickly became Inspir'd with the same Spirit, without excepting even the very Women; which made as great a "noise and confusion in all Opinions concerning Religion, "as there was in the Civil Government of the State; scarce "any Man being suffer'd to be call'd in question for delivering any Opinion in Religion, by speaking or writing, "how prophane, heretical, or blasphemous soever it was, "which they said *was to restrain the Spirit*. Liberty of Conscience was now the common Argument and Quarrel, "whilst the *Presbyterian* Party proceeded with equal Bitterness against the several Sects, as Enemies to all Godliness, "as they had done, and still continued to do against the "*Prelatical* Party; and finding themselves superior in the "two Houses, little doubted, by their Authority and Power "there, to be able to reform the Army, and to new model "it again. The

* The *Fanaticism* which at that time reign'd in *England*, and which still continues among the *Quakers*, seems to have taken its first Rise from an Opinion very common in those Days, which was this, *That the Holy Spirit is the Doer of all the good we seem to do, and only makes use of us and our Organs as simple Instruments.* In this Supposition, as soon as we think we have either Said or Done something that's good, we look upon our selves as a sort of *Prophets*; and when we believe that what we *would* say or do is good, we imagine our selves *inspir'd*, and authoriz'd by God, to do and say whatever we think fit. And then, such as oppose themselves to these pretended Inspirations are look'd upon as prophane and impious; and if the Constitution of those who have such Thoughts be inclin'd to Melancholly, and attended with a vigorous Imagination, they first deceive themselves, and afterwards act the part of the *Inspir'd* so well, that the Multitude suffer themselves to be led they know not whither. After which, People without Conscience or Religion, be-take themselves to imitating the others, in order to obtain their Ends, under pretence of Religion. If we were well perswaded that we are the Authors of our own Actions, and that these Actions are no farther good than as they conform to Reason, and the Laws of the Gospel, (according to which we ought to be able to render an Account to all the World) then we shou'd, with more care, study those Laws, observe 'em better, and not ridiculously imagine our selves Prophets, when we are out of our Wits; we shou'd not go about to obtrude every thing, that *seems* good, for Divine Illumination to which all the World ought to submit. Impostures, under the Cloak of Religion, would be infinitely more rare, and at last utterly vanish. Liberty of Conscience, which is in it self a Principle of Christianity, does not consist in a Power to utter idle *Fancies* for Inspirations; for that's a Liberty of Ranting, and not obeying the Gospel; it consists in being obliged by no Laws as necessary to Salvation, but those of *Jesus Christ*. If under the Pretext of putting a stop to *Fanaticism*, other Laws be made in Points of Religion than those of *Jesus Christ*, and such Laws be maintain'd by force; it authorizes those who have the Power in their hands, to do whatever may be convenient for them, without having any regard to what's True or False. The *Mahometans* have a Right to do what they do, in maintenance of their Opinions, by violence, without suffering

* Le Clerc's Observation.

themselves to be oppos'd by Reasons. The *Chinese*, and all other Idolaters may do as much, among themselves. In a word, the Opinions of the *strongest* shall be the *best*, Throughout, and Religion shall become a Cabal of State, such as Libertines and Atheists describe it.

For my part, I own I am persuaded that the liberty of Reasoning, and searching after Truth, in matters of Religion, by ways conformable to good Sense, is so far from causing Disorders, it would rather every where introduce Truth and Peace, which are banish'd from so many Places, only because of the Authority and Violence made use of to support things incompatible with the Light of Reason and Revelation, which are what can never be extinguish'd among Men. It is this perpetual *Contraste* of Authority and Force with Reason and Revelation, which gives birth to Disputes that will never have an end, till *Fanaticism* and *Tyranny* shall be no more among *Christians*: And yet, perhaps, they would have an end, if *Christians* were in all Places what they are in *Muscovy*. But 'tis infinitely better, in my Opinion, that we should be divided, than that we should all become Beasts.

The *Fanaticism* of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* in *Cromwel's* time, whether it was real, or only feign'd, proceeded from nothing but their Aversion to Reasoning in Matters of Religion and their unwillingness to apply themselves to rational Methods, in order to understand the Meaning of the Divine Revelation; under pretence of Inspirations, which they flatter'd themselves they had, or which they made a shew of having.

The Force they were minded to use, to support one *Fanaticism* against another, was unjust in it self, and likely to cause a Rising in the Army against an usurp'd Authority of despotically judging what Opinions others ought to have; to which Authority the *Presbyterians* had no more Right than the *Independents*.

So soon as good Sense, and the rational Study of the Holy Scripture re-entred into *England*, Tranquillity was re-establish'd with the ancient Government, and will preserve it self There, so long as the same Maxims shall be follow'd, without any occasion for Violence.

To return to our Author. He observes, that the death of the Earl of *Essex*, which happen'd in *September*, the Year above-mention'd, serv'd mightily to increase the Authority of *Cromwel*, who was now the *Head* of the Army, tho' *Fairfax* continu'd *General* in Name, the Earl being the only

Person whose Credit and Interest *Cromwel* and his Party, Fear'd, without any Esteem for his Person; of which our Historian gives a Character bad enough. But about this time, the Army, that they might oppose with more Facility the Resolutions of the Parliament, and counter-balance their Authority, set up a Council-General of Officers, who were to resemble the House of Peers, and another Assembly compos'd of Corporals and Serjeants, few or none above the Degree of an Ensign, who were call'd *Agitators*, and were to be as a House of Commons to the Council of Officers. These two Representatives met severally, and consider'd how to prevent the Parliament's design of Reforming or Disbanding the Army; and upon mutual Messages, and Conferences between each other, they Resolv'd and Declar'd, " That they would not be divided, or disbanded, before
" their full Arrears were paid, and before full Provision was
" made for Liberty of Conscience, which, they said, was
" the Ground of the Quarrel, and for which so many of
" their Friends Lives had been lost, and so much of their
" own Blood spilt; and that hitherto there was so little
" Security provided in that point, that there was a greater Persecution now against Religious and Godly Men
" than ever had been in the King's Government, when
" the Bishops were their Judges. They said, they did
" not look upon themselves as a Band of *Fanizaries*, hir'd
" and entertain'd only to fight their Battles, but that they
" had voluntarily taken up Arms for the Liberty and Defence of the Nation, of which they were a part; and
" before they laid down those Arms, they would see all
" those Ends well provided for, that the People might not
" hereafter undergo those Grievances which they had formerly suffer'd. They complain'd that some of the Army had
" been sent for by the Parliament, and committed to Prison,
" which was against their Privilege, since all Soldiers ought
" to be try'd by a Council of War, and not by any other
" Judicatory; and therefore they desir'd Redress in these,
" and many other Particulars, of as ungrateful a Nature;
" and that such as were imprison'd, and in Custody, might
" be forthwith set at liberty, without which they could not
" think themselves justly dealt with. And with this Declaration and Address they sent three or four of their own Members to the House of Commons, who deliver'd it at the Bar with no little Confidence. The Soldiers likewise publish'd a Vindication of their Proceedings, and directed it to their General, who was prevail'd with to write a Letter to a
Member

Member of Parliament, wherein he complains, that the Parliament should receive several Petitions prepar'd in the City of *London*; and some other Counties of the Kingdom, against the Army, and that the Officers of the Army should not be permitted to do the like.

The Parliament, offended at this Proceeding, of the Soldiers, made a Resolution; "Whosoever should refuse, when commanded, to engage himself in the service of *Ireland*," "should be disbanded." Upon this the Army mutiny'd, and demanded to be paid the Arrears due to 'em. Nor could they in any degree be appeas'd, till the Declaration the Parliament had made against 'em was raz'd out of the *Journal-Book* of both Houses, and a Month's Pay sent to 'em. The Parliament was so frightened, they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to go to them, and to treat with the Committee of Officers chosen by the Army, which, in some sort, equal'd them with the Parliament, and rais'd the Spirits of *Fairfax*, (who never had Thoughts of contending with the Parliament) and dispos'd him to more concurrence with the impetuous Humour of the Army, when he saw it was so much comply'd with, and submitted to by all Men.

Cromwel, who was certainly one of the greatest Masters of Dissimulation that ever liv'd, hitherto made a shew of being exceedingly incens'd against the Army, and ev'n to be in dread of it, so that he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted Man in the World, with the sense of the Calamities that were like to befall the Nation; whilst the most mutinous Officers and Agitators were well known to be his own Creatures, and entirely in his Interest.

Some of the principal Members of the House of Commons, privately resolv'd, that when he came next Day into the House, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the *Tower*. But *Cromwel* having intimation of it, bethought himself of retiring to the Army, tho' he had before complain'd, that he had no Reputation or Authority with them, but that his Life would be in danger among them. And when the House expected every Minute his presence, they were inform'd he was met out of Town by break of Day, with only one Servant, on his way to the Army, where he had appointed a Rendezvous of some Regiments of Horse, and from whom he wrote a Letter to the House of Commons, "That having the Night before receiv'd a Letter from some Officers of his own Regiment, "that the jealousy the Troops had conceiv'd of him and

“ of his want of Kindness towards them, was much abated, so that they believ'd if he would be quickly present with them, they would all in a short time by his Advice be reclaim'd; upon this he had made all the haste he could, and did find that the Soldiers had been abus'd by Misinformation, and that he hop'd to discover the Fountain from whence it sprung, and in the mean time desir'd that the General, and the other Officers in the House, and such as remain'd about the Town, might be presently sent to their Quarters; and that he believ'd it would be very necessary, in order to the Suppression of the late Distempers, and for the Prevention of the like for the time to come, that there might be a general Rendezvous of the Army, of which the General would best consider when he came down, which he wish'd might be hasten'd.

* The same Morning that *Cromwel* left London, one Cornet *Joice*, who had been a Taylor, and was one of the Agitators in the Army, came to *Holmby*, where the King was. *Joice*, at the Head of 50 Horse, arriv'd there about break of Day, and without any Interruption by the Guard, which waited there, went with two or three of his Comrades and knock'd at the King's Chamber-Door, and said, *He must presently speak with him*. His Majesty, surpriz'd with the manner of it, rose out of his Bed, and half dress'd caus'd the Door to be opened, which he knew otherwise would be quickly broke open. *Joice*, and two or three more, came into the Chamber with their Hats off, and Pistols in their Hands. *Joice* told the King, *He must go with him*. His Majesty ask'd, *Whether?* He answer'd, *To the Army*. The King ask'd, *Where the Army was?* He said, *They would carry him to the Place where it was*. The King then ask'd, *By what Authority they came?* *Joice* answer'd, *By this*, and show'd his Pistol; and desir'd his Majesty, *That he would cause himself to be dress'd, because it was necessary they should make haste*. None of the other Soldiers spoke a Word, nor did *Joice* behave himself rudely, saving the Bluntness and Positiveness of the few Words he spoke. The King said, *He could not stir before he spoke with the Committee, to whom he had been deliver'd, and who were trusted by the Parliament*; and so bad one of thole who waited on him to call them. The Committee, as much surpriz'd with the Noise as the King, quickly came to his Chamber, and ask'd *Joice*, “ Whether he had any Orders from the Parliament? He said, No. “ If from the Ge-

* June 3. 1647.

“ neral?

“ neral? No. Then they ask'd, “ What Authority he
“ came by? To which he made no other Answer than he
had done to the King, and held up his Pistol. They said
they would write to the Parliament to know their Pleasure.
Joice told them, *They might do so if they would, but the King
must presently go with him.* They carry'd him after this to
New-market, about 20 Miles from *Holmby*, not without great
Cause of Apprehension for the King's Person, because the
Squadron commanded by Joice consisted not of Soldiers of any
one Regiment, but detach'd from several Bodies, and drawn
together under him, who was not their proper Officer.

The Parliament, who all along flatter themselves, that, in
spite of a few factious and independent Officers, the Army
was intirely at their Devotion, and could never prove diso-
bedient to their Commands, were mightily troubled when
they heard this News; and much more when they had In-
formation that the whole Army was upon its march towards
London. However they Voted, That the Houses should sit all
the next Day, being *Sunday*, and all the Train'dbands of
London to be drawn together for the Defence of the Lines that
had been formerly made against the King's Party. They
likewise wrote a Letter to the General, desiring him that the
Army might not come within 25 Miles of *London*, and that
the King's Person might be delivered to the former Commis-
sioners, who had attended upon him at *Holmby*: But the Ge-
neral return'd for Answer, That the Army was already ad-
vanc'd as far as *St. Albans* before the Desire of the Parliament
came to his Hands; but that in Obedience to their Com-
mands, he would advance no further; and as touching the
King, he return'd no other Answer, But that all possible
Care should be taken for his Majesty's Security.

And indeed the King was treated much better than before;
he was allow'd to have four or five of his old Chaplains; no
Disturbance was given to such of his Party as resorted to him.
Besides this, the Army made an Address to the Parliament,
That Care might be taken for settling the King's Rights. Mean
time the Differences between the Army and the Parlia-
ment increas'd, as may be seen at large; and the latter, by
little and little, lost all their Authority. The City of *London*,
who had supported the Parliament, was also oblig'd to sub-
mit upon the Approach of the Army, which came up to
Hounslow Heath, 20000 strong, Horse and Foot, with a Train
of Artillery, and all other Provisions proportionable to such
an Army.

The King was also removed to *Hampton-Court*, where he was as well treated as he us'd to be in the best Times. The Speakers of both Houses (the Earl of *Manchester* and *Lenthall*) withdrew at the same time to the Army, under pretence that the Tumults of the City of *London* did not permit 'em to stay there in freedom. But, as our Author believes, it was to have a Part in the Treaty they thought the Officers of the Army were going to make. The General himself did afterwards conduct them, with some other Members, to their several Houses of Parliament. The Army having pass'd thro' the City of *London*, took Quarters about it; and likewise plac'd some Regiments in the City to serve as a Guard to the Parliament, but really to Bridle both of them. While these Things were thus agitated between the Army, the Parliament, and the City, the King enjoy'd himself at *Hampton-Court* much more to his Content than he had for some time before. The Respects of the chief Officers of the Army seeming much greater than they had been, *Cromwel* himself came oftner to him, and stay'd longer with him; they suffer'd him to see his three Children, the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, and the Princess *Elizabeth*, who were then in the Parliament's Power. His Majesty one Day told the Duke of *York* (who was then about 14 Years of Age) That if he saw the Army began to restrain him from the Liberty he then enjoy'd of seeing him, and to use him worse than they then did, he should endeavour to make his Escape into Holland. He likewise charg'd the Princess *Elizabeth*, who was not above a Year or two younger than the Duke, not to dispose of her self in Marriage, without the Consent of the Queen her Mother, and the Prince her Brother; and enjoin'd her to be always Obedient to them both, and to be govern'd by the Queen in all things, except in Matters of Religion. The King likewise exhorted the young Duke of *Gloucester*, who was not above seven Years old, to continue firm in his Religion, to respect his two Brothers, because they were both of them to take place before him in their Succession to the Crown. These Exhortations will be seen more particularly in the Author.

They likewise suffered the King to see his old Servants; and the Lord *Capel*, who was come from *Fersey*, took an Opportunity to wait on him at *Hampton-Court*, and gave him a particular Account of all that pass'd at *Fersey*. The King afterwards wrote to the Chancellor of the *Exchequer* a very gracious and kind Letter, and sent him Memorials of all that had pass'd from the time he had left his Majesty at *Oxford*; out of which Memorials, corrected with the King's own Hand,

Hand, the most important Passages of the Years 1644 and 1645 are collected.

Shortly afterwards, the Army having subdu'd all Opposition, and the Parliament and They seeming all of a Piece, the chief Officers grew less regardful of the King than they had been, and came more rarely to *Hampton-Court*, and the King's Servants were not look'd upon with the same Countenance as they us'd to be, especially *Berkley* and *Ashburnham*, who afterwards assisted the King in his Escape from thence, but thro' Imprudence, were the Occasion of his Majesty's being imprison'd again in a worse manner than before.

About that time a new Party started up in the Army called *Levellers*, from their pretending to introduce an Equality in all Degrees and Conditions, and Spoke very ill of the Parliament, of the Lords, and even of the Officers of the Army. The Author knows not whether this was an Effect of the subtle Spirit of *Cromwel*, who was desirous to humble those who were above him, in order to raise himself afterwards upon their Ruins; or whether 'twas a sort of Fanaticism of the Times. Be that as it will, these People gave *Cromwel* a great deal of Trouble afterwards, and were the Cause of redoubling the King's Guard. His Majesty was advis'd to think of making his Escape before he was closer confin'd, for they as yet suffer'd him to take the Air as he thought fit. The King put this Advice in Execution, Nov. 11. 1647. attended by Sir *John Berkley*, *Ashburnham* and *Leg*. He left two Letters upon his Table written with his own hand, one to the Parliament, another, to the General of the Army; in which he declar'd the Reason of his Remove, to be an Apprehension that some desperate Persons had a Design to Assassinate him, and therefore he had withdrawn himself, with a purpose of remaining conceal'd, till the Parliament had taken proper Measures for procuring the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom. *Ashburnham*, who conducted this whole Affair himself, led the King into *Hampshire* towards the Sea-side; and the King asking him, *Where the Ship lay?* The other two concluded the King had a Design of embarking. Upon this *Ashburnham* went, I know not whither, and return'd without any News of the Ship. Thus disappointed, the King thought it best, for avoiding all high Ways, to go to *Titchfield*, a Seat of the Earl of *Southampton's*, where they were well receiv'd by the old Lady, the Earl's Mother, with a small Family (the Earl himself not being at home.) Consulting there with his three Servants what he

he should next do, the Isle of *Wight* was mentioned by *Asburnham*, as a Place where his Majesty might securely repose himself, and where one Colonel *Hammond*, Nephew to the Celebrated Divine of that Name, commanded for the Parliament. *Asburnham* and *Berkley*, who were but very little acquainted with this Man, and who seem'd to be (*pleins d'un esprit d'etourdissement*) full of a Spirit of Blockheadism, cross'd the Water to the Isle of *Wight*, and without receiving any positive Promise from him, brought him to the King, who perceiv'd too late *he was undone*. *Asburnham* upon this offer'd to go down and kill *Hammond*, but the King, who was none of the best at an Expedient, would not consent to it, and put himself into his Hands. *Hammond* carry'd him into the Isle of *Wight*, and lodg'd him in *Carisbrook* Castle, from whence he never went out but to be led to his Death. This Colonel was of the nearest Trust with *Cromwel*, having by his Advice marry'd a Daughter of the famous *John Hamden*, whose Memory he always ador'd.

This Management of *Asburnham* and *Berkley* might have been look'd upon as treacherous, if they had not always stuck to the King's side, as the Author observes. You may read in him what he says in their Justification, but they cannot be look'd upon as Men who had the least degree of Prudence in so nice an Affair. It was the Misfortune of *Charles* the First to have none about him but such as had no manner of Conduct, and whose Failures he was not capable of retrieving.

As soon as 'twas known the King had made his Escape, the Party that the Army had in the Parliament, were extremely discompos'd. But two Days afterwards, *Cromwel* having receiv'd the News from *Hammond*, who promis'd him to keep the King safe, he communicated the Letter to the *House of Commons*, who thereupon grew quiet. *Cromwel* had likewise a great deal of difficulty to stop the Progress of a Tumult rais'd by the *Levellers* in the Army, and he found Occasion for all his Cunning Dexterity and Courage to suppress this Licence, and reclaim them to their Duty. The Parliament were for obliging the King to Sign four Acts; by the first he was to confess the War to have been rais'd by him against the Parliament, and thus make himself guilty of all the Blood that had been spilt. By the second, he was totally to dissolve the Government of the Church by Bishops, and to grant all the Lands belonging to the Church to such Uses as they propos'd. By the third, he was to grant and settle the Militia in the Hands of the Parliament; and, in the last

last Place, he was to Sacrifice to the Mercy of the Parliament all those who had serv'd or adher'd to him. When the Commissioners of the Parliament had read these Acts in Presence of the King, the *Scotch* Commissioners, who went along with them, protested against them in the Name of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. The King, instead of Answering in a few Words to these Propositions of the Parliament, gave the Commissioners his Reasons why he could not consent to them, and insisted upon entring personally upon a Treaty at *London*, or in such other Place as they should chuse.

Hereupon *Hammond* appointed a strong Guard to restrain any Body from going to the King, if they should endeavour it, which occasioned an Insurrection in the Isle of *Wight* in favour of his Majesty, but 'twas appeas'd by the Execution of him who had caus'd it.

The Parliament having receiv'd the King's Answer, it was publickly read, and every Body began to let fly against him; each striving to exceed the other in the License and Bitterness of inveighing against that Prince, *Who, in truth, did not consider he was a Prisoner, and at the Discretion of his Enemies.* *Cromwel*, after having declared that the King was a Hypocrite and had secretly treated with the *Scotch*, concluded, that they should no more trouble themselves with sending Messages to him or any farther Propositions, in order to the passing of any Act; and this Opinion was accordingly Voted in Parliament, after some opposition.

A few Days after the King's withdrawing from *Hampton-Court*, and when it was known he was at the *Isle of Wight*, a Meeting was held of the General Officers of the Army, *Cromwel's* Friends, and by whom he wrought upon the Army and Parliament to do whatever he desir'd. At this Conference, after Fasting, and Prayers made by *Cromwel* and *Ireton* in the very Council it self, it was resolv'd, that the King should be prosecuted for his Life, as a Criminal. One *Watson* speedily advertis'd his Majesty of this, but he wou'd not believe any thing of it. Tho' he expected, and thought it very probable, they would murther him, yet he did not believe they would attempt it with the Formality of a Tryal, in sight of all the People.

* It was indeed a molt imprudent Enterprize, according to the Rules of good Policy, which requires that What is but too odious in it self should not be made more so in its Circumstances.

In the beginning of 1648, the Parliament made a Declaration, wherein, after they had repeated at length all that the King had been reproach'd with during his whole Reign, they resolv'd to make no more Addresses, or to have any farther Recourse to him for the passing any Act. *John Maynard*, a Member of the House, and an eminent Lawyer, oppos'd this openly, and told them plainly, *That by this Resolution of making no more Addresses to the King, they did, as far as in them lay, dissolve themselves, because, according to the Laws, they had no Authority but in conjunction with the King.* Moreover, the People being charg'd with an increase of Taxes and Impositions, open'd their Mouths very loud against this Declaration. But *Cromwel's* Party were ne'er the less absolute Governours of every thing; and the King found himself in contempt and as it were forgotten by the *English*. As for the *Scotch*, they had made a Treaty with him in the *Isle of Wight*, sign'd 26 December, 1647, between the King on one side, and on the other the Earl of *Lowdon* Chancellor of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and the Earl of *Lanrick*.

This Treaty will be found in the Author, who was justly of opinion, that the Contents of it were impracticable, and that his Majesty had promis'd the *Scotch* more than he could perform. He likewise shews the Errors committed by the *Presbyterians* of both Kingdoms, and, on the contrary, the good management of the *Independents*, according to the Rules of *Machiavil's* Policy, whom the Author quotes with some praise, and who says, *That they who propose to themselves an unlawful End, ought not to make any scruple of using bad Means to obtain it.* Our Chancellor shews, that the *Presbyterians* did a great many things that reasonably must destroy their own End, and cross that which they first and principally design'd.

In the Parliament no body had credit but the *Independents*, who were possess'd of all the Places of profit, from whence the Noted *Presbyterians* were industriously remov'd. But, (the Author says) the Pulpit-Skirmishes were higher than ever; the *Presbyterians*, in those Fields, losing nothing of their Courage, having a notorious Power in the City, notwithstanding the Emulation of the *Independents*, who were more learned and rational, and who, tho' they had not so great Congregations of the common People, yet were follow'd by the most substantial Citizens of *London*, and by others of better Condition. Liberty of Conscience, (says the Author) was now become the *Great Charter*; and Men who were inspir'd, preach'd and pray'd when and where they wou'd.

Cromwel

Cromwel himself was the greatest Preacher and most of the Officers of the Army, and many common Soldiers shew'd their Gifts that way.

In the mean time, the Author tells us, that the Prince of *Wales* led a very uneasie Life, depending as it were on the Queen his Mother, and her Revenue being govern'd by the Lord *Fermyn*, who lov'd Plenty so well he would not be without it whatever others suffer'd, the Prince of *Wales* had nothing but from Hand to Mouth, and could not assist the *English*, who were driven into banishment, with the least Sum, nor obtain any thing for 'em from the King of *France*, so that they rather chose to go to *Caen*, *Rouen*, and other Places, than to remain at *Paris*.

XI. In this violent Condition of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the Author believes that the generality of the People wish'd for the Re-establishment of the ancient Government, under which they had never suffer'd so much, as under the Authority of a Parliament, who depended in all things on the Army. And there were several Attempts made this Year for the re-settling the King's Affairs, but not any succeeded, as may be seen in the Author, who gives a particular Account of 'em. Shortly afterwards Col. *Bampfild* found means for the Duke of *York*'s escaping and retiring with him into *Holland*. The Queen, about the middle of *May*, sent for our Author, by the King's Command, to go and wait upon the Prince at *Paris*; but the Letter arriving too late, he could not meet him till he came to *Holland*, whither the Prince was gone, upon the News he receiv'd, that part of the Fleet had declar'd for the King.

The revolted Ships went over to *Holland*, and the Prince of *Wales* arriving there, was very well received by them. This Fleet being furnish'd with some Provisions which were wanted there, took in the Prince, and set sail for the *Downs*, and from thence for the River *Thames*, where they remain'd for a time at Anchor, expecting some favourable Alteration on the King's behalf.

While these things were passing, the *Scotch* had taken Arms under the Command of Duke *Hamilton*; and to facilitate their entrance into *England*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Philip Musgrave* surpriz'd *Berwick* and *Carlisle*. In the County of *Kent* likewise several Gentlemen declared for the King, and had chosen the Earl of *Norwich* for their General. All this, one would have thought, should have made the Parliament and Army tremble, but these Enterprizes were

so ill manag'd, that they cost the Lives of some of the Chiefs; and the King's Enemies, tho' divided, became more formidable.

Fairfax march'd against the *Kentish* Men, and beat and dissipated a good part of them, and the rest who escap'd to *Colchester*, were besieg'd, and at last forc'd to surrender at Discretion. The Prince of *Wales's* Fleet could do nothing in the *Thames*, and was oblig'd to return to *Holland*, with a Design to go and support the *Scotch*, who enter'd *England* about the middle of *July*. *Cromwel* went to meet 'em, on purpose to give 'em Battle as soon as he could, without valuing their number. *Sir Mar. Langdale*, who march'd before *Duke Hamilton*, with 4000 *English* Foot, and 7 or 800 Horse of the same Nation, sent Advertisement of it to the Duke, and desir'd that his Grace would keep his Army closer together than before, and as for him, he declar'd he would rest and wait the advance of the Enemy, and then retire back, as he should find it necessary.

He continu'd to send him every Day Advice that confirm'd the former, tho' he had Intelligence that *Cromwel* was not so strong as they. All this gain'd not credit with the Duke, till *Sir Mar.* himself, making his Retreat with sharp Skirmishes, in which many Men fell on both sides, was pursu'd into the Head Quarters of the Duke. The *Scotch* Army having observ'd no Order in their March, the Duke could not get together Men enough to make Head against the Enemy, which made him resolve to retire to *Wigan* in *Lancashire*, where he thought he should find some Regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. It had been before-hand agreed upon to secure a Pass to favour *Langdale's* Retreat, but it was not done, and the latter was put to the rout, after which the *Scotch* thought of nothing but running away.

Lambert, who commanded *Cromwel's* Horse, follow'd 'em so close, that they took as many Prisoners as they pleas'd. At length they overtook the Duke at *Uxeter*, and all the principal Officers, who, together with him, were made Prisoners. *Langdale* was likewise taken some time after, but he found means to escape. Our Historian Notes that *Cromwel's* Army did not amount to a third part of the *Scots* in number, if they had been all together. He describes the Condition of the Prince of *Wales* at the *Hague*, and the Factions there were in his Court, and in the Fleet, among the Officers, but I shall leave 'em to be read in the Author. The Parliament of *Scotland* likewise invited the Prince to repair
into

into that Country, and made great Proteſtations of Fidelity; but the News of Duke *Hamilton's* Defeat being brought to *Holland*, the Prince did not think fit to go thither, whatever Inſtances the Earl of *Lauderdale* made, who was come expreſs to him upon that Errand.

Berwick and *Carlisle* were ſoon after ſurrendered to the Parliament; and *Cromwel* advanc'd as far as *Edenburgh*, where he was very well receiv'd by the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, whoſe Party found themſelves Maſters of *Scotland*, by the deſtruction of Duke *Hamilton's*. The Parliament of that Kingdom being call'd, condemn'd the taking up of Arms in favour of the King, which they had before Reſolv'd and Order'd.

There was likewiſe another Riſing in *England*, under the Earl of *Holland*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*; but they were ſoon after defeated, and the Earl of *Holland* made Priſoner. *Colcheſter* having been oblig'd to ſurrender at Diſcretion, *Fairfax*, by the Advice of *Ireton*, a barbarous and ſavage Man, caus'd Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle*, to be ſhot to death. Till then they had not put to death any Priſoners of War; but it ſeems the *Independents*, who look'd upon the Officers of the Royal Troops as irreconcilable Enemies, were reſolv'd to take their Lives, to intimidate the reſt.

The *Presbyterians* of *London* Petition'd the Parliament, at that time, that they would hold a perſonal Treaty with the King; and the Parliament having conſented to it, they ſent a Committee of both Houſes to his Maſteſty, in the beginning of *Auguſt*. The King receiv'd this Overture very graciously, and deſir'd that he might conſult with ſome of his Servants. The Parliament fearing the Inſolencies of the Army, preſs'd the more earneſtly for an immediate Treaty. For this purpoſe they repeal'd the Vote of *No more Addreſſes*; and gave the King liberty to have any about him he ſhould think fit; and the Treaty to be at *Newport*, in the *Iſle of Wight*.

Our Author joins to this, an Account of the taking of *Pomfret-Caſtle* for the King; which, tho' it be a Story worthy to be read, I cannot ſtay to relate, any more than what he ſays of the Condition the Prince of *Wales* was in at the *Hague*, and the Irregularities of the Fleet. It thereby appears, that they who were about the Prince, were far from being orderly Men; and that he himſelf was not able to remedy any thing.

The Affairs of *Ireland* went no better; and ſtill worſe, ſo ſoon as *Cromwel* had time to look into 'em. Prince *Rupert* undertook to command the Fleet, and ſet ſail for *Ireland*, in the Month of *December*. He took by the way ſeveral

several *English* Merchant Ships, and arriv'd happily at *King'sale*, but the Effects of this Expedition was of no greater advantage to the Royal Party, than those he had made by Land.

The Treaty of the *Isle of Wight* began 18 of *September*. The Parliament Commissioners presented their first Proposition to the King, That he would revoke all Declarations and Commissions granted heretofore by him against the Parliament, and that it should be confess'd, that the Parliament had been constrained to take Arms for their just Defence. 2dly, That the *Presbyterian* Government should be set up in *England*. 3dly, That the Militia should be put into the hands of Men depending upon the Parliament. 4thly, That the Peace made by the King in *Ireland*, should be declared void. They were to propose other things afterwards, and not to proceed to the Examination of any one Head, till the former were first granted.

* The King defended himself the best he could, as if he had hoped to be restor'd upon tolerable Conditions, in spite of the Army; and the *Parliament* treated as if it were in their Power to perform what was agreed on, in spite of the *Independents*: But they were both equally deceiv'd, and did nothing but lose their labour in this Negotiation. It continu'd to the middle of *December*, but the Army having at last declared it self, upon the Alteration they would Have made in the Government, all that had been done signified nothing. The Army took Quarters about *Westminster*, and *Cromwel's* Party manag'd it so, that the Members who were opposite to them, were seiz'd by the Soldiers, and whatever they had a mind to resolv'd upon.

The Parliament had before Voted that the Treaty with the King might be continu'd, upon the Answers he had given to the Articles; but it was resolv'd by the Majority of the Members, who had not been seiz'd, that the others who were absent during this debate, should come no more to Parliament. The latter protested, in vain, by a printed Writing, against the violent Proceedings of the House of Commons. They who remain'd in the two Houses, declar'd this Protestation false, scandalous, and seditious, and forbid the printing, selling, or reading of it. When they had in this manner master'd all Opposition, they began to talk of regulating the Form of Government, under which the Nation was to live; however, they first of all resolv'd to

* Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.

punish the Authors of these Troubles, and to begin with the *Head*. A Committee was appointed to prepare a Charge of High Treason against the King. And this Charge, containing all those Calumnies they had formerly heap'd upon him, was agreed to by the House of Commons. They afterwards sent it to the House of Lords, where there were but very few in number, and it was believ'd, they would easily have concurr'd with the other House who had been possess'd of the sole Authority for a considerable time. However, the House of Lords rejected the Impeachment, and adjourn'd for a Week; presuming they should in that time find some Expedient to ward off the Blow; but they were deceiv'd. The House of Commons continu'd to proceed in their own Method by themselves; and when the Day came, to which the Lords adjourn'd, they found their Doors all barr'd, and fasten'd with Padlocks, so that there was no more Entrance for 'em. Now the Commons constituted a Court of Justice, consisting partly of Country Gentlemen, partly Magistrates and Inhabitants of *London*, and some Officers of the Army. One *Bradshaw*, a Lawyer, was chosen *Lord President* of this Court, which was call'd *the High Court of Justice*. They sent for the King, who had been before remov'd to *Hurst Castle*; Colonel *Harrison* receiv'd him with a strong Party of Horse, by whom he was carry'd to *Windsor*, and from thence to *St. James's*. The King upon the Road testifying his Apprehension of being Assassinated, *Harrison* (who was afterwards one of his Judges) told him frankly, That the Parliament had too much Honour to do so base an Action, and that if any thing was done against him, it would be by way of Justice, and in View of the whole World. This was what the King could not imagine they durst attempt, but the Issue shew'd he was deceiv'd. And indeed the Officers of the Army had been very much divided about the Manner of Dealing with the King. Some were for having him Deposed, others were for taking away his Life by Poison or Assassination, and a third sort there was who press'd to have him brought to Publick Trial as a Malefactor, which they said would be most for the Honour of the Parliament, and would teach all Kings to know that they were Accountable and Punishable for the Wickedness of their Lives. This latter Opinion carry'd it, contrary to the Expectation of a great many People.

And

* And to speak like Politicians, it was the most odious Course, and the properest to irritate the People against the Army and its Generals; for in short there can be no Tragedy more moving and apter to stir the Spirits of the People than to see a King (more Unfortunate than Guilty) lose his Life upon a Scaffold, while Knaves and Worthless Wretches (who, to bring it to that, had Violated the most Fundamental Laws of the Land) Usurp'd his Place. It is strange, *Cromwel*, a Man of so much Penetration, was not sensible of this Error.

Our Historian gives but a short Account of the King's Trial from the time he was brought to *Westminster* before the Court of Justice, which was upon the 20th of *January*. All the Proceedings of this Unexampled Trial have been several times printed in *English* and *Latin*, and therefore it would be useless to dwell thereon. The King was Executed the 30th of that Month.

The Historian gives his Character in a few Words, and praises his Justice, his Clemency, his Devotion, his Chastity, his Courage, his Modesty, his Temperance, and his other Vertues.

† Not to speak of the Duty owing to Kings, which is a Matter that would require large Discussions; no Body can deny, that, in a Civil War, as this was, between the King and Parliament, the Prisoners ought to have been treated with Moderation, and all Extremities avoided, because there are always Faults on both sides. They who held for the Parliament were shock'd at the Name of *Rebels*, and would have been much more displeas'd if the King had been Conqueror, and had cut off the Principal of them by the Hands of the Executioner; and yet they behaved themselves in this manner towards him and those who had lately taken Arms for his Service.

Nothing better shews the Injustice and Violence of Men than this way of Retorting, which obliges them to own, in spite of themselves, that they have done to others what they would not should be done unto them.

All that can be said in favour of the *Long Parliament* (for so this Assembly was afterwards call'd) amounts to this; the Criminal Process against King *Charles* the First, and the Execution of that Prince, are not to be ascrib'd to a Vote of *Parliament*, but only of *Cromwel's* Faction, and the *Independents* of the Army; since, beside that there was no House of

* *Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.* † *Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.*

Peers at that time, a great many of the Members of the Lower House had been excluded thro' the Violence of the Fanatics. The King's Death therefore cannot be attributed to the *whole Assembly*, and still less to the *English Nation*, who were oppress'd by the Army. This was what the Presbyterians alledg'd in those Days to excuse themselves to the Neighbouring Nations, who were scandaliz'd at the Excess, to which Things were carry'd in *England*. But the Presbyterians cannot deny that the Desire of Destroying Episcopacy had induc'd them to make War upon the King and those of the Nation who sided with him; and that thro' an inexcusable Folly and Pusillanimity, they fell under the Power of their own Army, which they were no longer able to oppose.

As for *Cromwel*, and those of his Party, it seems they were divided into two Factions; one of which had a Notion of Reducing *England* to the Form of a Common-wealth, wherein the Parliament, or the Assembly which should supply its place, should cause the Laws to be observ'd without any further mention of a King; the other Party aim'd at seizing the Government at any Rate, without troubling themselves about Laws or Liberty. *Edmund Ludlow*, and others, whom he speaks of in his Memoirs, seem'd to have been in the Number of the former, as *Cromwel* was the Head of the latter, and aspir'd to the Monarchy himself, as was afterwards apparent. These two last Factions were, properly speaking, the Causes of the King's Death. They pretended, as is clear from the Writings of *John Milton* and *Edmund Ludlow*, that that Prince having *Appeal'd to the Sword*, as they phras'd it, he thereby submitted himself to the Consequences of War, and to the Will of the Conqueror.

* But this Language won't hold, except we talk of a War between two several Nations, of which one may have conquer'd the other; and ev'n then, that Nation would be unpardonable, which would not use their Victory with Moderation. Severity was infinitely more blamable on this Occasion, where, in reality, a very small part of the *English* did Nation intirely overturn the Laws, oppress by Force the far greater Number, and consequently could not act in their Name. It cannot be doubted but that a free Parliament, wherein the usual Formalities had been observ'd, wherein those who had a Right to sit had been actually present, and wherein all things had been doné by Plurality of Voices according to the Laws; it cannot be doubted, I say, but such a Parliament would have preserv'd the ancient Government; Whereas a few Men who had got

* Le Clerc.

the Mastery by Force, Decided every thing, and unjustly assum'd the Name of a *Parliament*.

Tho' there might have been great Abuses committed in the former Government, which I shall not here inquire into, yet it did not belong to a few arm'd Men to alter it as they pleas'd, and to set up another; but it belong'd to the whole Body of the People, delivering their Minds Freely, or to their Representatives for that purpose Authoriz'd to Redress Grievances, and Apply Remedies. In a thing of this high Importance, to act with some show of Justice, they ought to have done as the *Romans* us'd to do, when any new Law was to be made: That is, they should have publish'd the several Heads, upon which they were minded to know the Sentiments of the Nation, to have given them time to consider of them, and, during that time, to have suffer'd each to declare his Opinion in Writing, or *Viva Voce*; after which they might have gather'd the Suffrages in each County, and so have seen how the Plurality were inclin'd. Nothing but such a Result can be truly call'd the *Consent of a Nation*; and such a Result would, according to all Appearances, have been favourable to the King, in *England*; and if it had been otherwise, then the whole Nation must have been charg'd with it, and have answered for it.

But *Cromwel* destroy'd one Government, which he call'd *Tyrannical*, purely to set up another by mere Force, to which that Name was with more Reason due than to the Other; because he was supported by nothing but Violence, and not at all by the Consent of the *English* Nation. They had no Part in it, and it cannot be said they authoriz'd it by their Obedience, which was visibly under Constraint. Nay, there were a great many People who openly withstood it, at the Expence of their Lives, as will be seen in our Author.

To resume the Course of his Narrative, (after this Digression, which the Readers will forgive, upon Account of the Importance of the Subject.) The Faction of the *Independents* issu'd a Proclamation, wherein they forbid any Person whatever to presume to Declare *Charles Stuart*, commonly call'd the *Prince of Wales*, or any other Person, to be King of *England* or *Ireland*, or any Dominions belonging thereunto, under the pain of Suffering as a Traitor. In the next place, fearing they might be cross'd by the House of Lords, they Resolv'd that they would make no further Addresses to that House, nor receive any more from them, because they were Useless and Dangerous. It was afterwards Abolish'd by an Ordinance, and the Peers depriv'd of the Privilege of being

freed

freed from Arrests. All the Favour they shew'd them, was to suffer them to be Elected Knights or Burgesles of *England*, and in that Quality to sit in the House of Commons. They afterwards declar'd, that the Office of a King in this Nation was not Necessary; but on the contrary, Burthenfome, Dangerous, and against the Liberty, Safety, and Publick Interest of the Nation; so they intirely Abolish'd it by an Act prepar'd on purpose. Hitherto they had made use of a great Seal like the King's; but now they caus'd another to be made, whereon was engrav'd on one side the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inscription, *The Great Seal of England*; and on the other side, the Portraiture of the House of Commons sitting in Parliament, with this Circumscription, *In the first Year of Freedom by God's Blessing restor'd, 1648.* The Commissioners, to whose Custody this Seal was intrusted, were call'd the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*.

After having Describ'd the Beginnings of the new Commonwealth, (which did not long continue in this Condition) our Author complains violently of the Insensibility of the Kings of *Europe* upon this Occasion, wherein they ought, according to him, to have testify'd an extream Indignation against those who had put to Death King *Charles* the First, and to have endeavour'd to have taken Vengeance for the same. He very severely Censures Cardinal *Mazarine*, who, he says, ador'd the Conduct of *Oliver*, and had sought his Friendship in the basest and most abject manner. He likewise quarrels with the King of *Spain*, upon Account of his Envoy *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, residing then at *London*, and who had, upon several Occasions, many Audiences of the Parliament, and industriously courted their Favour. Both these, with the Arch-duke *Leopold*, Governour of *Flanders*, are no better treated by our Author, for having bought some Moveables or Pictures belonging to *Charles* the First, whereby, according to him, they assisted *Oliver* to prosecute his ambitious Designs in furnishing him with great Sums of Money for those Purchases, without restoring the least thing to *Charles* the Second after his Return to the Crown.

* I don't know whether *Charles* the Second would have done otherwise by them in the like Case. There might be a great deal said upon this, if it were handled thoroughly.

They who compos'd the House of Commons soon perceiv'd their Number too small to preserve the Authority they had assum'd, for any long time. They made therefore a De-

claration, That as many of the Members who had been excluded, as would under their Hands approve all that had been done during the time they were excluded, might return to their Seats in the House without any Prejudice for the future. Hereupon divers of them went again to the House, whose Conduct they rather chose to approve of than be intirely excluded. A new Oath was afterwards prepar'd, and impos'd upon the Subject, they call'd it the *Engagement*, whereby all those who were possess'd of any Employment, should swear Fidelity to the Government Establish'd without King or House of Peers. By this they excluded from Places, not only all of the Royal Party, but likewise many Presbyterians, who look'd upon the *Engagement* as incompatible with the *Covenant*. Soon after this, they erected a new High Court of Justice for the Trial of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, who were all five sentenc'd to Death for having born Arms for the King. The Particulars of their Trials and Death may be seen in the Author, who says, that the same Character may be given of those Times, which the Historian (*Tacitus*) has given of the time of *Domitian*, "that as the Ancients had seen every thing that " was extreme in Liberty, the Moderns had now seen every " thing that was excessive in Slavery; *Sicut Vetus Aetas vidit* " *quid ultimum in Libertate esset, ita Nos quid in Servitute*. He likewise adds an Application of some other Words of the same Historian, speaking of a time, which, according to our Chancellor, was not altogether so wicked, That the Dispositions of Mens Minds were such, that a Few durst do the worst Action, Many wish'd, and All suffer'd it. *Is habitus Animorum fuit ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur*.

* It cannot be deny'd but the new Government was perfectly Absolute, and founded upon the most bloody Executions: But if the Royal Party had obtain'd the same Advantages, I know not whether *Liberty* would have gain'd very much by it. At least it is not usual for Victorious Kings to have much respect to the Privileges of a Conquer'd People, or to make any Scruple of Establishing an Arbitrary Government.

XII. The 12th Book contains the Events of the Year 49, commencing from the 25th of *March*, and ending the same Day the following Year, according to the *English* Manner of reck-

oning. He at first describes the young King's Condition at the *Hague*, and his surprize upon the News of his Father's Death. The *States General*, and those of *Holland* apart, made their Compliments of Condolence to *Charles II.* wherein the Chancellor was of Opinion, there was not Bitterness enough express'd against the Rebels and Murtherers.

† It cost them, however, a sharp War afterwards, for having favour'd his Party; and I don't believe *Charles II.* would have done as much in favour of the Republic, if a Tyrant had overwhelm'd the Laws and Liberties of this State, which are no less legal in the *United Provinces*, than the *Monarchical Government* is in *England*.

In this Conjunction, *Scotland* proclaim'd *Charles the II^d*. their King, upon Condition of his good Behaviour, and strict Observation of the *Covenant*. After which they sent Commissioners to him, to invite him into that Country. The Author informs us, that so soon as the *Scots* saw they had appointed in *England* a Court of Justice to Try the King, they sent Deputies to protest against all these extraordinary Proceedings. But the *English* laugh'd at 'em; and it appear'd that the Marquis of *Argyle*, who then rul'd all things in *Scotland*, yielded to it, only to satisfy the *Scotch Nation* exasperated against the *Independents*.

Divers other Facts are afterwards related, which I cannot dwell upon, as likewise how the Author, tir'd out with the perpetual Dissentions in the Court of the new King, consented to go upon an Embassy into *Spain*, together with the Lord *Cottington*, (a conceal'd Catholic, who liv'd afterwards in *Spain*, and dy'd there.) But this Embassy avail'd nothing. He likewise gives an Account of the Condition of *Ireland* whither *Cromwel* went as Lord Lieutenant, and likewise that of *Scotland*, where the Marquis of *Montross* was executed for attempting to excite a new War in that Kingdom against such as oppos'd the King's Interests. He had formerly, with very few Troops, perform'd extraordinary Actions, of which there appear'd a *Latin History* in *Holland*, in 1647, intitul'd, *J. G. de Rebus Gestis Auspiciis Serenissimi & Potentissimi Caroli Dei Gratiâ Magnæ Britaniæ Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regis, &c. sub Imperio Illustrissimi Jacobi Marchionis Montis-rosarum, &c. supremi Scotiæ Gubernatoris Anno 1644, & duobus sequentibus præclarè Gestis, Commentarius. Interprete A. S.* Our Historian gives the Continuation of what befel the Marquis of *Montross* to his Death. He was condemn'd

† Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.

to be hang'd at *Edenburgh*, May 20, 1650. This Sentence was executed, and the Book above-mention'd, was ty'd about his Neck.

* *J. Wichard*, Doctor in Divinity, was the Author of it. It was translated by somebody, who understood *Latin* but very poorly. However, the things it contains have caus'd it to be read and to be still in request. A worthy Gentleman of the *Scotch* Nation, has lately made me a Present of it. I shall not detain the Reader with what our Historian relates concerning *Charles II.* and a Design he had of going into *Scotland*, nor with several other things, of less consequence, which will be seen in the Original.

XIII. King *Charles II.* being resolv'd, in 1650, to take the *Scotch Covenant*, that he might be no longer out of his Kingdoms, embark'd for that Country, and put into a Harbour not far from *Sterling*. Before he landed they oblig'd him to sign that Instrument; and the Marquis of *Argyle* receiv'd him with a great deal of Respect, at least in appearance; but two Days afterwards, all his *English* Servants, of any Quality, were remov'd from his Person, the Duke of *Buckingham* only excepted; the rest, for the most part, were receiv'd into the Houses of some Persons of Honour, who liv'd at a distance from the Court, and durst not come near it. They plac'd about the King other Servants, whom they could confide in, and several *Presbyterian* Ministers were almost continually with him, under pretence of instructing him in Religion. He was oblig'd to be present at their constant Hours of long Prayers, and to observe the *Sunday* as rigorously as the *Jews* do their *Sabbath*. They reprehended him very sharply, if he only smil'd on that Day, or if by his Looks or Gestures he did any thing that did not please these Zealots; whilst all the Sermons they preach'd to him, were nothing but Libels, and bitter Invectives, against his Father's Government, his Mother's Idolatry, and his own Malignity.

† Tho' these People had been as much in the Right, as they were in the Wrong, such Usage of the Prince was fit for nothing but entirely to disgust him, who, besides, was by no means inclin'd to Devotion, and lov'd his Pleasures too well, to be easie under such rigorous Constraints.

This excepted; he was treated very well by the Marquis of *Argyle*; but with reference to Power, to dispose or order any thing, he had nothing of a Prince, but might very well be look'd upon as a Prisoner. His Embassadors in *Spain*,

* *Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.* † *Mr. Le Clerc's Observat.*

(the Author of this History, and the Lord Cottington) who had been hitherto Slighted by the Spaniards, began now to be look'd upon with a better Countenance, because it seem'd, that the King having all Scotland, and a good part of Ireland for him, might be quickly restor'd. In the mean while it happen'd that the Parliament of England sent an Agent into Spain, one Ascham, who allarm'd the King's Embassadors; but some English Officers, in the service of Spain, soon deliver'd 'em of him, by killing him at his Lodgings in Madrid. This Affair, however, put 'em to a great deal of trouble, tho' they protested they had no part in it. The same thing had happen'd the Year before at the Hague, where a certain Person, nam'd Doreflaar, (the Author calls him Doreflaus) an Agent of the Parliament, was kill'd by some Scotch Men.

* I shall not dwell upon this Accident, nor that of Madrid, for fear of being too long. These Practices were by no means proper to advance the King's Affairs; he not being in a Condition to make himself dreaded, as the Parliament was, whose Alliance and Friendship was emulously contended for, both by France and Spain.

After the King's arrival in Scotland, the Parliament recall'd Cromwel from Ireland, where he left Ireton as his Deputy: This Man answer'd the Confidence Cromwel (his Father in Law) had in him, as may be seen in the Memoirs of Ludlow, who gives him great Praises. The Parliament of England having resolv'd to send an Army into Scotland, Fairfax gives up his Commission, and Cromwel is put in his place. The Scotch likewise rais'd an Army, wherein they admitted few or no Officers or Soldiers who had serv'd under Duke Hamilton, but only Persons affected to the Kirk-Government of Scotland, tho' but indifferently qualify'd to command. The whole Army was under the Government of Political and Ecclesiastical Commissioners, (a Committee of the Kirk and State) in which the Ministers exercis'd the sole Authority. They preach'd equally against the Vices of the Court, and the Tyranny of Cromwel, and promis'd Victory to their Army as positively, as if God had reveal'd it to 'em. The King desir'd that He might command this Army; but all he could obtain from 'em, was to see it, and after he had been in it three or four Hours, it being observ'd that the Soldiers were delighted in looking upon him, they remov'd him, next Day, to a Place at a greater distance from the Army.

* Mr. Le Clerc.

Crommel enter'd *Scotland* in *July*, but found the *Scotch* Army so well posted, and the Passes so well guarded, that at first he could do nothing at all. The Country, besides, was so destroy'd behind him, that he could get no Provisions, and his Army had nothing to subsist upon, but what came from *England* by Sea. The Month of *September* being come, the Season of the Year not permitting him to depend upon any regular Supply that way, his Army began to move, and seem'd to provide for a March. Whether he design'd to retire into *England*, out of so barren a Country, or whether that Motion was only to draw the *Scots* from their advantageous Post, is yet a Secret. The *Scotch* Army being advertis'd of his March, follow'd him all Night. *Crommel*, inform'd of this, made a Halt near *Dunbar*; so that the *Scotch* Army found themselves so near his in the Morning, they could not avoid a Battle. They, however, posted themselves so advantageously upon the side of a Hill, that they believ'd *Crommel* would not have had the Courage to have attack'd 'em there. But he did not at all deliberate whether he should Charge 'em. Their Horse did not sustain the first Onset, but fled, and were pursu'd by the *English* Horse, with great Execution. Their Foot depended much upon their *Ministers*, who preach'd and pray'd, as the Author says, and assur'd 'em of the Victory, till the *English* were upon 'em, and some of the Preachers were knock'd on the Head in that Function. *Crommel* found very little Resistance in all Parts, and yet made so great a Slaughter, that he left 6 or 7000 dead upon the Spot. The *Ministers* that were not kill'd, but escap'd by the Heels of their Horses, were so cut and slash'd o'er the Head and Face, that it was believ'd *Crommel's* Soldiers had done it industriously. Such as did not die of their Wounds, were notably mark'd for their whole Lives. All the Canon and Baggage was taken; and *Crommel*, with his victorious Army march'd directly on to *Edenburgh*, where he found plenty of all things for the refreshing his Army.

This Victory was attended with something very particular, which was, that the King thought himself a Gainer by it; because he look'd upon those who were kill'd, as his Enemies: And indeed, after this Defeat, the *Scotch* had more respect for his Majesty, and less for the Marquis of *Argyle*, than before. This shews that the Tie which seem'd to be between the King and the *Scots*, could not last very long, since, at the bottom, they were dissatisfy'd with each other.

This

Part II. *of the Earl of Clarendon's History.* 41

This Victory of *Cromwel's* soon spread it self thro' all *Europe*, and occasion'd *Don Lewis de Haro*, on the behalf of the King of *Spain*, to send a Message to King *Charles's* Embassadors, to depart out of the Kingdom, it being then towards the end of *January*. Our Author actually left *Spain*, but the Lord *Cottington*, who was a *Catholic*, continu'd there as a private Man, and dy'd sometime after a *Valladolid*. As for the *Chancellor*, he went to *Paris*, where he gave the Queen of *England* an Account of his Embassy, which did no manner of good. The Characters of *Don Lewis*, and the Lord *Cottington*, may be seen in the Original, and divers Particularities of the Court of *Spain*, more fit to be the Ingredients of *Memoirs*, than a *General History*. Such likewise are several Particulars touching the Duke of *York*, which I cannot stop at.

A new Army was rais'd in the *North of Scotland*, of which his Majesty was declar'd General, and afterwards crown'd King of *Scotland*. The Marquis of *Argyle* did, however, still preserve his Authority; and the King, the better to manage him, pretended he had a purpose to marry one of his Daughters. The Affair was carry'd so far, that an Express was sent to *France*, for the Queen his Mother's Consent, who being less warm upon the Proposition than was expected, the Messenger made less haste back; so that the Fate of *Scotland* was first determin'd.

David Lesley was declar'd Lieutenant-General, and *Middleton* had the command of the Horse. This Army of the King's appear'd very hearty and chearful, and sufficiently furnish'd with all things, and ev'n superior in number to the Enemy. However, *Cromwel* did not fear 'em; but he could not draw 'em to a Battle, because there was a great River between 'em, of which the *Scotch* very carefully kept the Passes. They had, besides, a very great advantage, in abounding with all manner of Provisions, and which they could not possibly fail of; whereas *Cromwel* must have been, in a very few Days, reduc'd to want. In this posture both Armies stood, during the Months of *June* and *July*, with some small Attempts upon each other, but nothing considerable. About the end of *July*, thro' the Cowardice or Treachery of Major General *Brown*, *Cromwel's* Forces, under *Lambert*, gain'd a Pass. by which *Cromwel's* Army got behind the King's. He could not, however, compel his Majesty to fight, for there was still the same River between 'em; but they were by this means possess'd of the most fruitful part of the Country, and so would not only have sufficient Provision

for their own Army, but in a short time would be able to cut off the King's Supplies. Things being in this posture, the King resolv'd, by the Advice of his whole Council, to march directly with his Army into *England*, to endeavour to cause 'em to declare for him. The Roads between the two Armies, were of such a nature, that *Cromwel* could not possibly overtake the King for some Days; and the *Northern* Counties of *England* had all along appear'd well affected to his Service; so that the Army, he presum'd, if he could reach those Counties, would be very much increas'd. No body but the Marquis of *Argyle* oppos'd the Design, with Reasons which were not frivolous, but the contrary prevailing, he staid behind, and afterwards retir'd to his House. Tho' *Cromwel* usually had good Spies, yet this Resolution was at first so secretly consulted, and afterwards executed with such Expedition, that the King had march'd a whole Day before *Cromwel* had receiv'd the least Intelligence of it. He was very much surpriz'd and perplex'd when he heard the News, because he could not leave *Scotland* with his whole Army, without losing that Kingdom, nor separate his Forces, without exposing himself, by being too weak, when he should overtake the King. Besides this, he foresaw the terrible Consternation the Parliament would be in, when they should hear that the King's Army was clear'd of *Cromwel's*, and coming upon 'em. More than this, he was under great Apprehensions, that if the King had time to rest in any place, he wou'd infinitely increase and strengthen his Army. However he took a quick Resolution to provide for all the best he could. He dispatch'd an Express to the Parliament, to let them know that he would overtake the Enemy before they should give them any trouble, and dispatch'd such further Orders for drawing the Auxiliary Troops together in the several Counties, as he thought fit. He afterwards sent *Lambert*, with his Horse, to retard as much as possible the March of the King's Army, without engaging it, unless there appear'd a visible advantage. That *Scotland* might not be abandon'd, he left Major General *Monk* to keep *Edenburgh*, and the Harbour of *Leith*, with some Troops of Horse and Foot.

When *Cromwel* had given these Orders, and seen 'em executed in part himself, he began his own March with the Remainder of his Army, three Days after the King, who was advanc'd as far as he was able, and had sent before him Col. *Masse*y, famous for the defence of *Gloucester*, and in very great Esteem with the *Presbyterians*, to engage them

to declare for the King. Upon this the *Scotch* Ministers in the *Royal Army* sent to *Massey* a Declaration, as conformable to the Pleasure of the King, and the Zeal of the Army, forbidding him to receive or entertain in his Troops any but such as should subscribe the Covenant. The King soon had notice of this, and sent him Orders to receive all with equal Civility, but the Business had already taken Air, and was spread all over the Kingdom, so that all Men fled from their Houses, or conceal'd themselves, though many of 'em wish'd the King well. Mean time *Lambert* came up and attacking some Troops in the Rear, beat 'em into the Body of the Army. Upon this the King sent against him all his Horse, who oblig'd him to retire in his Turn, according to the Orders he had receiv'd. Upon this occasion the whole Army being drawn out in Battle-array, appear'd very chearful. But *Lesley* being observ'd by the King to look very melancholly, throughout the whole March, he rode up to him; and ask'd him, *How he could be so sad, when he was at the head of so brave an Army?* and demanded of him, *How he lik'd 'em?* *Lesley* answer'd him in his Ear, *That he was melancholly, because he knew very well, that that Army, how well so ever it look'd, would not Fight.* The King took this to be an Effect of the Man's Chagrin Humour, and gave it no credit, nor told it to any Person; but the Event made appear, that *Lesley* knew the Army better than the King. His Majesty march'd to *Worcester*, where he was proclaim'd King of *England*. There were Misunderstandings among the Officers of the Army, as well as the Courtiers; and *Lesley* seem'd sunk in his Courage, and perplex'd in the Orders he gave, and which he chang'd every Moment. No Disposition was made to defend the Town, nor to intrench. when they had News that *Cromwel* was within half a Day's March, with Forces much superior to the King's, because he had drawn together all the Militia of the neighbouring Counties, and had join'd 'em to his Army. He march'd directly on, and without amusing himself with the Formalities of a Siege, on the 3d of *September* he caus'd the *Royal Army* to be attack'd on all sides, and in a short time routed it, in-so-much that the King, who was got into the Town to refresh himself, having been on Horse-back most part of the Night, had scarce time to remount his Horse, which stood ready at the Door, when he met the whole Body of his Cavalry running in so great Disorder, that he could not stop 'em, nor oblige 'em to return to the Fight.

However, in the Evening there were 4000 Horse found with *David Lesly*, who had follow'd the King in his Flight; with such a Body they might yet have made a Retreat into *Scotland*, but Terror and Disorder had so discompos'd the Troops and their Officers, they knew not what they did. And the King, who had no Experience in War, nor the Constancy necessary to extricate himself out of so ill a Pass, thought of nothing but escaping as well as he could, which he did in a surprizing manner, as may be seen in the Author, who had it from the King himself. His Majesty arrived at *Rauen* in Nov. *Lesley* and *Massey* were taken, and the rest of the principal Officers shar'd the same Fate.

It will be found in the same Book that the Author, who retir'd to *Antwerp*, was sent for by the King to *Paris*, tho' the King was not very much at his Ease there. You may likewise see in the same Book the Divisions and Animosities there were between the King's Servants, as likewise the Duke of *York's*, the Posture of Affairs in *Ireland*, and other Particulars, which I shall omit.

In the beginning of the Year 1652, the Parliament did all they could to engage the States-General of the United Provinces to enter into a stricter Union with them, and indeed to be as one and the same Body with the Commonwealth of *England*.

* But the States were wisely of Opinion, that it was an impracticable thing; for tho' it be visibly the Interest of these two Powers to be strictly United, and that they may easily be so, as Experience has taught them for 20 Years last past, yet the Distance and Difference of Manners, Customs, and Opinions, will never suffer them to form one and the same Body. *Cromwel* and his Party, who apprehended the States-General might one Day assist the King, were willing to divert them from it by this Alliance; but finding they could not compass their Ends, they presently entred into Councils how to lessen the Trade of *Holland*, and increase their own. Hereupon they made an Act that prohibited all Foreign Ships from bringing any Merchandize or Commodities into *England*, but such as were the Product and Growth of the Country, from whence such Ships came. Tho' this concern'd all other Countries, it did in a particular manner affect the *Hollanders*, because they have very little Merchandize of the Growth of their own Country. The *Dutch* Ambassador expostulated this Matter with great Warmth, but the Parlia-

* Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.

ment answer'd him superciliously, That they would not Repeal Laws to gratifie their Neighbours. The *Hollanders* thereupon in the Spring set out a Fleet stronger than of Course they us'd to do, believing that the *English*, in the Infancy of their Republick, would not undertake a Foreign War, considering the great Number of Male-contents among themselves. However this made no Impression upon the *English*, who never suspected the *Dutch* durst enter into a War with them, or that they would do it without declaring it; and therefore they increas'd not their Men of War, but sent out their usual Fleet for the Guard of their Coasts at their proper Season, and with no other Instructions than they had been accustomed too.

† This is what our Historian says; but he forgets several considerable Hostilities the *English* committed at that time against the *Hollanders*, and which may be seen in the Life of *Michael de Ruiter* (Book 1. Page 15. French Edit.) My Lord *Clarendon* gives an Account of this War somewhat confusedly, and discovers a little Passion against the States-General, because they would not enter into a War with the Parliament in Favour of *Charles* the First, or his Son. In comparing this History with *Gerard Brands* of *Ruiter's* Life, it will be seen that our Author was not perfectly well inform'd, and that he chuses rather to favour the Party of the Long Parliament (and *Cromwel*, than to judge equitably of the Conduct of the States-General. *Ludlow* complains no less of them, so that they had the Misfortune to please neither side; but that was preferable to what either the one or the other demanded of them.

XIV. In the Year 1653. *Cromwel* (our Historian informs us) began to quarrel afresh with his Parliament. He erected another Council of Officers in the Army, who first by Petitions, and afterwards by Remonstrances, took upon them to Censure the Conduct of the Parliament in all things that concern'd the Army. He presently demanded the Payment of Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers, lest they should be oblig'd to Quarter at Discretion upon the Subjects of the State; who had already paid so great Contributions and Taxes that they were well assur'd, if the Money arisen from thence had been manag'd well, there had been sufficient to have defray'd all the Charges of the War and of the Government. The Parliament answered with sharpness, Reprehending them for their Presumption; this gave new

† Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.

Matter to the Army to Answer, and to Represent to them, that the Members of that Assembly ought to be mindful how many Years they had govern'd, and that altho' they had done great Things, yet 'twas a very great Injury to the rest of the Nation to be utterly excluded from bearing any Part in the Service of their Country, by ingrossing the whole Power into their own Hands. Wherefore they besought them, that they would settle a Council for the Administration of the Government, during the Interval, that there should be between the Dissolution of this Parliament, and the calling of another, and then to dissolve themselves; which, they told them, would be the most popular Thing they could do. These Demands being presented by some Officers, and supported by others who were Members of the House, 'twas conceiv'd they deserv'd to be Examined and Debated. The House, after this Examination, were of Opinion that the Common-wealth of *England* was not sufficiently strengthen'd to dissolve the Parliament as yet, and that the War, which they had upon their Hands with the States-General, requir'd their Continuance for sometime longer.

Cromwel by this clearly discern'd that the Parliament would never be persuaded to part with that Authority and Power they so long enjoy'd; so, before they could make any Act upon the former Resolution, he repair'd in *April* 1653. to *Westminster*, and went into the House with the Officers of the Army, who were likewise Members of the House, and told the * rest that he was come to put an end to their Power and Authority, which they had manag'd so ill, that the Nation could be no otherwise preserv'd but by their Dissolution, which he advis'd them, without further Debate, quickly to submit to. Thereupon another Officer, with some Files of Musqueteers, enter'd the House, and stay'd therein till all the Members walk'd out. This done, *Cromwel* publish'd a Declaration of the Grounds and Reasons of his Proceeding, for the Satisfaction of the People. He afterwards, together with his Council, Resolv'd to chuse a Parliament himself, consisting of about 100 Members, some of whom were Men of Condition, but the greatest part inferior Persons of no Quality or Name, Artificers of the meanest Trades, known only by their Gifts in Prayer and Preaching. He Assembled them the 4th of *July*, and made a long Speech to them full of Passages out of Scripture, and concluded it with a very ear-

* You may find a fuller Description in *Ludlow's Memoirs*, Tom. 2. Page 456, &c.

nest Desire, that great Tenderness might be used towards the Consciences of all Christians, of what Opinion soever they appear'd to be.

† In this last Article, which our Chancellor after reproaches him with, he certainly was not to blame; for, provided Consciencious Persons act nothing contrary to the Civil Laws and Society, it cannot be thought amiss to indulge them, without setting up at the same time the Inquisition. Our Author seems not to have examin'd this Subject maturely enough.

When *Cromwel* had finish'd his Discourse, he deliver'd to his Parliament an Ingross'd Parchment under his Hand and Seal, whereby he intrusted with them the Supreme Authority till the 3d of Nov. 1654. but the 12th of Decemb. 1653. upon the Motion of one of the Members, they re-transfer'd their Authority to him who had given it to them, and he immediately resum'd it.

In a few Days after this, the Council of Officers made him Captain General of all the Forces in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and gave him the Title of *Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and of the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*. They likewise gave him a Council of 21 Persons, to be assistant to him in the Government.

He was solemnly Install'd in this Office the 16th of December in *Westminster-Hall*. The Instrument containing the Conditions to be observ'd by *Cromwel* was read, and he swore to perform the same, with his Hand all the while upon the Bible. A Herald proclaim'd him afterwards *Protector* in the *Palace-Yard at Westminster*.

* Our Author, after this, forgets not to report the War which was made by Sea against the United Provinces, and mentions a Fight, of which he gives all the Advantage to *Cromwel's* Admirals, *Blake, Monk, and Dean*; but it appears by the *Dutch* Author, already cited (Book 2d) that the Loss of the *English* for all that was very considerable, and that our Historian only wrote this from his Memory, which is the Cause he is not exact, and that he scarce puts any Date at all.

Cromwel having thus made himself formidable at home and abroad, he compell'd the *Portuguese* to send an Ambassador to him to beg Peace in 1654. and to make their Excuses for

† *Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.* * *Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.*

having receiv'd Prince *Rupert's* Fleet in their Ports, after it was oblig'd to abandon *Ireland*.

Cromwel not being the Author of the War against the United Provinces, and having something else to do, it lasted not long. Nor was it in reality the Interest either of *England* or *Holland* to make War upon one another.

The Author represents *Cromwel* as giving the Law to the States-General, and obliging them not to suffer any Enemy of the Common-wealth of *England* to reside within their Dominions; to deliver up to the *English East-India* Company, the Island *Polegone*, usurp'd and taken from the *English* in the Reign of King *James* the First; to pay a good Sum of Money by way of Reparation for what had pass'd at *Amboina* some Years before, for which the two last Kings could never obtain any manner of Satisfaction; and lastly, to exclude the Prince of *Orange* from the Offices of Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral, for fear he should one Day assist *Charles* the Second in his Restoration. He pretends that those who had the greatest Power in *Holland* were Favourers of *Cromwel*.

* It cannot be deny'd that there were at that time People in *Holland* who wish'd the Exclusion of the Prince of *Orange*, for fear he should make any Attempt upon the Liberties, as his Father had done a little before he dy'd, in besieging *Amsterdam*, and sending to *Lowstein*, as Prisoners, Persons, over whom he had no manner of Jurisdiction. They might be afraid that King *Charles* the Second would assist his Nephew the young Prince of *Orange* to do as much, after that Monarch should be re-establish'd. But in other Respects they were not at all for *Cromwel*, and it was as lawful for them to desire to be deliver'd from what might prejudice the Liberty of their Republick; as for our Author to wish for any thing that would serve towards the Re-establishment of *Charles* the Second.

Cromwel being at Peace abroad, erected a High Court of Justice for the Trial of Persons accus'd of holding Correspondence with *Charles Stewart* (as they call'd the King) and for having a Design against the Life of the Protector, to seize upon the *Tower*, and to proclaim the King; and several Persons were Condemn'd and Executed by them, as may be seen in this Author. He likewise reports how *Don Pantaleon Sa*, the *Portugal* Ambassador's Brother, suffer'd Death for a Murther willfully committed.

* *Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.*

The time drawing near when the Protector was oblig'd by the Instrument of Government and his Oath to summon a Parliament, he call'd another for the 3d of *Sept.* 1654. after a new Method, there being strict Order given, that no Person who had ever been against the Parliament during the time of the Civil War, or the Sons of any such Persons, should be capable of being chosen to sit in that Parliament. He likewise lessen'd the Number of Burroughs which were to chuse them. He afterwards made a Speech in the Painted Chamber to these new Members, wherein he told them, among other things, That they should not touch the Fundamental Laws of the present Government, such as that which provided that the Common-wealth should be govern'd by one single Person in the Name of *Protector*, in Conjunction with the Parliament. Besides this, he plac'd a Guard at the Door of the Parliament House, to restrain all Men from entring who refus'd to Subscribe an Engagement of Fidelity to the Government as establish'd. Several Members refusing it were excluded, and even those who did Subscribe, and were thereupon admitted, were refractory, and rejected the Propositions he caus'd to be made to them for confirming his Authority in the manner he desired.

The Protector however left them assembled till the 22d of *Jan.* 1665, when he thought proper to dissolve this Parliament. He at the same time, with some Reproaches, let them know, "*That he could do the Business without them, and Govern the Nation by himself.*" As he had made use of the Republican Spirit of a great many *English*, in order to destroy the Kingly Government, so this same Spirit afterwards prov'd opposite to his own Designs, when he would have acted as a King; and those who were not able to endure the Royal Power, did with more difficulty bear with his. Of which some remarkable Examples may be found in the Author.

All this while the Condition of the King, who was in *France*, continu'd as bad as ever. The Protector was every where dreaded almost as much as if he had made a Descent with an Army. Cardinal *Mazarine* soon afterwards made a Treaty with him; and the King grew sensible he should be oblig'd to retire out of *France*, where he began to be look'd upon with an evil Eye. He had likewise a great deal of difficulty in maintaining Peace among those who were devoted to him, and had follow'd him into *France*. Our Historian himself could scarce defend himself against the Queen and the Practices of some *English*, who saw, not without some Displeasure, the Confidence the King had in him.

He relates a remarkable Conversation of the Kings with the Cardinal *de Rets*, who ask'd his Majesty if he had not made any Application to the Pope (*Innocent X.*) for some Supplies of Money. The King answer'd "He had not, and that the Cardinal could better judge than he whether the Pope were like to do any thing in his Favour. The Cardinal believing his Majesty meant as if the Religion he profess'd were too great an Obstacle to his having any Success at Rome, reply'd, That he had no thought of speaking concerning his Majesty's Religion, yet told him with a great deal of Frankness, that as he was a Cardinal, he wish'd his Conversion to the Church of Rome; however, this he told him besides, that if he chang'd his Religion, he would never be restor'd to his Kingdom. For all this, he Counsel'd him to make Application to the Pope, and other Princes of *Italy*, and for that purpose ask'd the King two or three Questions, which his Majesty could not give an immediate Answer to, but which he promis'd to give him punctual Information of the next Day by a Letter. He did so, but by Misfortune the Cardinal was arrested, and sent to the *Bastile* with the Letter in his Pocket, which was carried to the Queen of *France*. She shew'd it to the Queen of *England*, and after having made themselves merry together at some Improproprieties the King had committed in the *French* Tongue, *Henrietta Maria* gave her Son the Letter, reproaching him very sharply for having so little Confidence in her as not to speak a word of this Affair to her.

Prince *Rupert*, who went to *America* with his Fleet when he was oblig'd to quit *Portugal*, return'd at this time upon the Coast of *France* with four or five Ships, after having lost one in that Country with his Brother *Maurice* on board. He had Pirated upon the *Spaniards*; but the King could not reap any manner of Advantage from his Expedition, as will be seen in our Historian; and besides this, his Majesty had no reason to be satisfy'd upon other Accounts with his Cousin, who retir'd afterwards to *Germany*.

The King likewise resolv'd to go thither himself, and the Cardinal being apprised of it, caus'd all the Arrears of his Pension from *France* to be exactly paid. He left *Paris* the beginning of *June 1654.* and went to the *Spaw*, where the Princess of *Orange* his Sister was likewise arriv'd. From thence he went to *Aix la Chapelle*, and afterwards to *Cologne*, where he fix'd his Residence. When he was there, the Duke of *Aenburgh* sent him word that the Pope being dead, Cardinal *Chigi* was chosen in his place (under the Name of *Alexander the Seventh.*) This Duke with the King's Consent, made

made Addresses to the Pope to draw from him some Supplies of Money; but our Historian tells that the Pope did not think proper to employ the Patrimony of the Church for an Heretick.

* If nothing else pass'd between the Pope and Charles the Second, it must be own'd the Pope's Refusal (whatever our Chancellor says of it) was more discreet than the King's Request, who expos'd himself strangely by suing for Succour to the Pope: Not to call it an unpardonable Meanness in a Prince, who ought to have been truly Protestant. But 'tis probable, our Chancellor did not know. All; and perhaps they were given to understand at Rome, that the King had a better Opinion of the *Romish* Church than he seem'd to have; else how could an obstinate Heretick ask Relief of the Pope? But in that Country they are for All or Nothing, and a secret Conversion is of no Merit with them, unless an Engagement be made to do afterwards whatever the *Holy See* (as 'tis call'd there) shall think fit. This is what has since been seen in the Example of Charles the Second's Successor.

In the same Book will be found a great many Particularities touching the Family of Charles the First, the Intrigues among the Domesticks of Charles the Second, and some unfortunate Attempts the Royal Party made in England against Cromwel, who, by this means, became more formidable than ever. The King judg'd from hence, that it was better for his Friends to keep quiet, and wait a more favourable Opportunity than to expose themselves to utter Destruction.

XV. While the King continu'd at *Cologn*, where he liv'd above two Years, neglected by almost all the Princes of Europe; Cromwel, with more Authority than ever, govern'd the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as will be seen in this Book, which contains what pass'd from the Year 1655. till his Death. In the Spring of this Year, Cromwel sent two very great Fleets to Sea, one under Blake for the *Mediterranean*, to suppress the Insolencies of the Pirates at *Algiers* and *Tunis*; the other, under Pen, was bound directly for *Barbadoes*, where they were to take in Land-Forces to make a Descent on the Island *Hispaniola*, or *St. Domingo*, the chief City and Port of that Island. This Descent met with no Success, not having been executed according to Cromwel's Orders; but the Troops being re-imbark'd, made a fortunate Seizure of the Island of *Jamaica*, where they left a good Garrison, and then return'd for England. Cromwel, exasperated

against *Pen*, and *Venables*, who commanded the Troops of this Expedition, Upon their Return, committed 'em to the Tower, and could never pardon them for having so ill observ'd his Orders. However, he presently sent a Reinforcement to *Jamaica*, and resolv'd from that place to make perpetual War upon the *Spaniards*. *Blake* acquitted himself infinitely better of his Commission. He forc'd *Algiers* to a Peace, and entering the Harbour of *Tunis*, he set fire to all the Ships there, which were nine Men of War, and burnt them to Ashes, without any Loss on his side.

Cromwel likewise sent *Lockhart* into *France*, to finish an Alliance begun before by the Agents of *France* in *England*. *Cromwel*, among other Things, oblig'd himself to send over an Army of 6000 Foot into the *Netherlands*, to be commanded by their own superior Officer, who was to receive Orders only from *Mareschal Turenne*, General of the *French Army*; and when *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* should be taken, they were to be put into *Cromwel's* Hands. *Cromwel* being in this manner ally'd with *France*, King *Charles* the Second enter'd into a Confederacy with *Spain*, which however was of no use to him, as will be seen in our Author. Upon Account of this Alliance, he quitted *Cologne*, and went and resided at *Bruges*.

The Protector in the Year 1656. was disturb'd with the Divisions in his own Army, wherein he knew were many Officers and Soldiers very uneasy under his too Absolute Government; and he fear'd, lest they should join with others among the Nobility and People that were for the King: He resolv'd therefore upon an Expedient to Bridle the whole Kingdom, as well the People as the Army. He constituted, out of such Persons as he thought most devoted to him, twelve Major-Generals, among whom he divided the Government of all *England*, and gave them a very great Power, not only over the Militia, but likewise in the Business of the Taxes, which he caus'd to be rais'd for the Necessities of the State.

That Summer *Blake* and *Montague* took the Rear Admiral, and another Ship, very richly laden, belonging to the *Spanish West-India Fleet*, and destroy'd the Vice-Admiral's Ship; which caus'd a very great Damage to the *Spaniards*, and much Advantage to *Cromwel*, who order'd the Bullion that was taken to be convey'd pompously from *Portsmouth* to *London*, and so thro' the City to the Tower, to be Coin'd there.

The same Year *Cromwel* summon'd a Parliament to meet Sept. 17. wherein he admitted none but those who would subscribe to act nothing prejudicial to the Government, as establish'd under a *Protector*. The major part submitted; some of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. This Parliament presently made an Act of Renunciation of *Charles Stewart*, and his whole Family, and divers other Acts were pass'd, very favourable to the *Protector*, who confirm'd them, as the Kings were accustom'd to do. He afterwards procur'd it to be propos'd by his Friends in the House, to invest Him with the Title, Rights and Dignities of a King, for that then he would know what he was to do towards the satisfaction of all Parties, and how to govern those who would not be satisfy'd. This Proposition was very well receiv'd; and 'twas observ'd, a great many who wish'd the King well, were dispos'd to confer this Title upon *Oliver*; believing it might serve for the present, as the best Expedient to restore the true One when once the *Protector's* Ambition should be discover'd. But others were apprehensive, lest the *Usurper* should by that means perfectly and entirely establish himself, upon Reasons which the *Author* gives; and, besides this, the Officers of the Army, *Lambert*, and his Party, as also some of *Cromwel's* own Relations, oppos'd this Overture with great Warmth, as expecting to succeed him in the Authority he had, if he should happen to die.

However, the Majority of the House thought it convenient to appoint a Committee to confer about it with his Highness, (for so he was call'd) and to endeavour to get his Consent. He gave 'em audience, and heard their Arguments with great attention, and desir'd some time to consider of their Proposition, after which he would let them know his Resolution. Tho' he had a mighty desire to accept of this Title, and was in no great Apprehension from *Lambert*, and his Officers; yet he was afraid to offend his nearest Relations, such as his Brother-in-Law, *Desborough*, and others, who protested they would abandon him, if he took the Title of King. 'Tis moreover said, that an Officer of Distinction, in an *Eclaircissement* upon the Subject, told him resolutely, that if he assum'd the Title, he would kill him. Besides, *Cromwel* was certainly inform'd, and gave credit to it, that there were a number of Men who had bound themselves by Oath to kill him within so many Hours after he should accept that Title. 'Tis likewise added, that those who were very near him, said, that in this perplexity he

recol-

recollected and revolv'd a Dream which he had at the very beginning of the Troubles, and was generally a thing spoken of when he was not in a Posture that could promise him any such Exaltation; they likewise say, that he himself did then observe, it had only declar'd, that *he should be the greatest Man in England, and very near to be King.* From whence he concluded, that he was not destin'd to be actually King. After a great distraction of Mind, which was manifest in his Countenance, (however great a Master he was in the Art of Dissimulation) his Courage fail'd him, and when he had spent some Days very unquietly, he sent for the Committee of Parliament to attend him, in order to give them his Answer upon their Proposal; and as his Looks were extremely discompos'd, and his Mind agitated in a strange manner, so his Language was broken and disjointed, without Method, and full of Interruptions. After having said divers things of God, and the gracious Dispensation of Providence, he declared, *that he could not with a good Conscience accept the Government under the Title of King.*

The Parliament afterwards pass'd another Act concerning the Government, which they call'd, *The humble Petition and Advice*; wherein they not only enlarg'd in many Particulars the Authority Cromwel had till then, but likewise granted it him for his Life, with Power, by his last Will and Testament, and in the presence of a certain number of Witnesses, to make choice of, and declare his own Successor, which, however, should not be drawn into a Precedent for any other Protector to do the like. This Instrument being agreed upon, and the Parliament having address'd him for Audience, they presented it to him, *May 25, 1657, in the Banqueting-House*, where their Speaker read it to him distinctly.

This done, Cromwel, being desired to give his Assent to it, kept silence for some time, and casting up his Eyes, with the Gestures of one in perplexity, at length fell to speaking of *the weight of the Burthen he was going to take upon himself, so that without the support of the Almighty, and the assistance of the Parliament, he must necessarily sink under it.* He was not however satisfy'd with this, but appointed the 26 of June for his Installation, with such Pomp and Solemnity, as was not inferior to that of the Coronation of a King.

The more quietly to enjoy his Grandeur, and be at leisure to put in order his Domestic Affairs, he adjourn'd his Parliament to the twentieth of January following. Mean while

while he sends for his Son *Richard* to Court, who, till then, had liv'd in an ordinary Country Village, upon the Fortune his Wife had brought him. Him *Oliver* made a Privy-Counsellor, and got him chosen Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*. His second Son *Henry* he had sent into *Ireland*, and made him his Lieutenant of that Kingdom. Besides this, he dispos'd of his two Daughters, that were left unmarried, one to the Grand-son of the Earl of *Warrwick*, who had been engag'd in the Cause from the very beginning, and the other he gave to the Lord Vicecount *Falconbridge*, whose Family had constantly been in the King's Interest.

If *Cromwel* strengthen'd his Authority in the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, he increas'd it no less abroad; for he oblig'd the *French* that Year to besiege the Fort of *Mardyke*, and, according to the Treaty made with them, to deliver it into the hands of *Reynolds*, Commander of the 6000 *English* he had sent into *Flanders*. *Blake* likewise burnt the Fleet of Gallions in a Port of the *Canaries*, tho' defend- ed with all the Artillery of the Coast; and retir'd without damage. He dy'd in his return home, and was a great loss *Oliver*; for he was one of the bravest Seamen in *England*, and the most devoted to the *Common-wealth*.

The Parliament being assembled, Jan. 20. there was a new House of Lords seen, call'd *The Other House*, which was fill'd with Officers of the Army, and other Persons, in whom *Cromwel* confided.

Being come to this House, he sent for the Commons up, according to the ancient practice of the Kings, and made a Speech to 'em in the Royal Stile of, *My Lords*, to one House, and to the other, *Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees*. But as soon as the Commons return'd to their House, they order'd the 3d Article of the *Humble Petition and Advice* to be read, by which it was provided, That no Members legally chosen, should be excluded from the performance of their Duty, but by consent of that House, of which they were Members. Upon this they proceeded to the calling over their House, and re-admitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that *Recognition* of the *Protector*, and by this means above a hundred of the most inveterate Enemies the *Protector* had, came and sat in the House. After this they call'd in question the Authority and Jurisdiction of the *Other House*, and whether the *Protector* had Authority to create Peers. *Cromwel* upon this went to *Westminster*, and Conven'd both Houses before him, and told 'em, That the *Other*
House

Houfe were Lords, and should be Lords. And imperiously commanded 'em to enter upon such Business as might be for the Benefit, not the Distraction of the Common-wealth. But when he saw this would not do, he took a Resolution to Dissolve them, which he did, Feb. 4. Then he turn'd Lambert out of the Army; a Man who constantly oppos'd him, and who by this means lost in an instant not only his Regiment, and Major-Generalship in the North, but likewise all his Credit and Authority. He likewise abridg'd the Power of his other Major-Generals, so far as might be inconvenient to himself.

About this time King Charles II. having made a Treaty with the Spaniard, refus'd the Pension that was sent him from France; and the Cardinal gave notice to the Duke of York, that he must leave the French Service. Our Chancellor likewise informs us of several Particulars relating to the English and Irish Officers in Flanders, which may be found in the Original. About Christmas our Author receiv'd the Great-Seal of England, with the Office of Lord Chancellor, of which he afterwards acquitted himself with great Capacity. He likewise gives divers Circumstances of an Enterprize for the King, which did not succeed; and a Declaration of the Anabaptists in favour of the same Prince, which may be seen in the Original.

In the Summer of the Year 1658, Dunkirk was besieg'd by Monsieur Turenne, by the King of France's Order. Don John of Austria, the Prince of Conde, and the Marquiss of Carracena endeavour'd to relieve it, but were repuls'd. The Town capitulated the 14th of June, and was deliver'd to Lockhart, whom Cromwel made Governor of it.

* It was a place of the last Importance for England and Holland, as well as for France and the Low-Countries; as has since been manifest. The Cardinal must have valu'd Cromwel's Friendship at a very high price, to purchase it so dearly. But if the World was at that time astonish'd at it, they were no less so, when they saw it † sold to France by Charles II. for Five Millions of Livres, shortly after his Restoration, without considering the Consequences, which have been very unfortunate.

* Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.

† See Mr. Regnier Desmarais History of the Differences between the Court of Rome, &c. p. 191.

Our *Chancellor*, (I said at the beginning of this *Abstract*) was accus'd of having counsell'd King *Charles II.* to sell this Place to *France*. 'Tis plain from this Conduct of the *Usurper's*, that he had a much better foresight than the lawful Heir of *Great-Britain*, and caus'd himself to be quite otherwise respected by his Neighbours.

In the midst of these Prosperities the *Protector* appear'd much more Disquieted and Chagrin than before. He was not so easie of access; went very little abroad, and seem'd to be in disorder when he saw any strange Face in the Room where he was; nor could he all the while remove his Eyes from 'em. When he intended to go to *Hampton-Court*, which was the only Place he us'd to go to for his Diversion, it was never known till he was in the Coach, which way he would go; He was always well accompany'd, and guarded both before and behind: And seldom return'd the same Way he went. He rarely lodg'd two Nights together in the same Chamber, but had many furnish'd and prepar'd with Beds, to which no body had a Key but himself. Thus it was he guarded against a Mischief which was not to befall him.

The Death of his Friend the Earl of *Warwick*, and especially that of his Daughter *Claypole*, who had been always his greatest Joy, affected him wonderfully. He had likewise the Dissatisfaction to see that his Son-in-Law, *Falconbridge*, hated him, and wish'd his Ruin. The pleasure he before took in his Family, lessen'd every Day, and about the middle of *August* he was seiz'd by a common *Tertian Agus*, from which he believ'd a little Ease and Diversion at *Hampton-Court* would have freed him; but his Fits growing stronger, he return'd again to *Whitehal*, where his Physicians began to think him in danger. In the mean time, (says our *Author*) the Preachers, who pray'd always about him, and told God Almighty what great things *Cromwel* had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his service; declar'd, as from God, that he should recover, and he himself was of the same Mind, till his Spirits were quite exhausted: Then he declar'd to 'em, that he did appoint his Son to succeed him, his Eldest Son *Richard*, and so expir'd, on the 3d of *September*, 1658, a Day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice Triumph'd for two of his greatest Victories.

'Twas observ'd, there happen'd on that Day one of the most violent Hurricanes that had ever been known, which did extreme damage, not only upon the Coasts of *England*, but likewise in *Flanders* and *France*.

* If we would reason after the manner of the † ancient *Druids* of *Great-Britain*, it might be said, that this was a Token of a *Hero's* dying that Day; but instead of insisting on such sort of things, I shall give you the Character of *Cromwel*, in the Words of our *Author*.

" *Cromwel*, (says he) was One of those Men whom
 " his very Enemies could not condemn without com-
 " mending him at the same time, *Quos Vituperare ne ini-*
 " *mici quidem possunt nisi ut simul Laudent*; for he could
 " never have done half that Mischief, without a great
 " deal of Courage, Industry, and Judgment. He must
 " have had a wonderful Understanding in the Natures
 " and Humours of Men, and as great a Dexterity in ap-
 " plying them; who, from a private and obscure Birth,
 " (tho' of a good Family) without Interest or Estate,
 " Alliance or Friendship, could raise himself to such a
 " Heighth, and compound and knead such opposite and
 " contradictory Tempers, Humours and Interests, into a
 " Consistence that contributed to his Design, and to their
 " own Destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly pow-
 " erful enough to cut off those by whom he had climb'd,
 " in the instant that they projected to demolish their own
 " Building. What was said of *Cinna*, may be very just-
 " ly said of him, He attempted those things which no
 " good Man durst have ventur'd on, and atchiev'd those,
 " in which none but a Valiant and Great Man could
 " have succeeded, *Ausum cum qua Nemo auderet Bonus; per-*
 " *fecisse, qua a nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent*. Without
 " doubt, no Man with more Wickedness ever attempted
 " any thing, or brought to pass what he desir'd more wic-
 " kedly; more in the Face and Contempt of Religion
 " and Moral Honesty; yet Wickedness, as great as his,
 " could never have accomplish'd those Designs, with-
 " out the assistance of a Great Spirit, an admirable Cir-
 " cuminspection and Sagacity, and a most Magnanimous
 " Resolution.

* *Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.*

† See *Plutarch*, *Tome 2. p. 419.*

" When

“ When he appear'd first in the Parliament, he seem'd
 “ to have a Person in no degree Gracious, no Ornament
 “ of Discourse, none of those Talents which use to con-
 “ ciliate the Affections of the Standers-by; yet as he grew
 “ into Place and Authority, his Parts seem'd to be rais'd,
 “ as if he had had conceal'd Faculties, till he had occa-
 “ sion to use them; and when he was to act the part of
 “ a great Man, he did it without any Indecency, not-
 “ withstanding the want of Custom.

“ After he was confirm'd and invested *Protector* by the
 “ *humble Petition and Advice*, he consulted with very few
 “ upon any Action of importance, nor communicated
 “ any Enterprize he resolv'd upon, with more than those
 “ who were to have principal parts in the Execution
 “ of it, nor with them, sooner than was absolutely ne-
 “ cessary. What he once resolv'd, in which he was not
 “ rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any
 “ Contradiction of his Power and Authority; but extor-
 “ ted Obedience from them, who were not willing to
 “ yield it.

Our Author gives some Examples of this in some things
 relating to Justice, and goes on thus.

“ In this manner he subdu'd a Spirit, (*speaking of the*
Disposition of those who defended themselves by pleading their
Privileges and Laws of the Land, in reference to payment of
Taxes.) “ Thus, (*says he*) he subdu'd a Spirit that had
 “ been often troublesome to the most Sovereign Power,
 “ and made *Westminster-Hall* as obedient and subservient
 “ to his Commands, as any of the rest of his Quarters.
 “ In all other Matters, which did not concern the Lite
 “ of his Jurisdiction, he seem'd to have great Reverence
 “ for the Law, rarely interposing between Party and
 “ Party. As he proceeded with this kind of Indignation
 “ and Haughtiness, with those who were refractory and
 “ durst contend with his Greatness, so towards all who
 “ comply'd with his good Pleasure and courted his
 “ Protection, he used great Civility, Generosity and
 “ Bounty.

“ To reduce three Nations, which perfectly hated him,
 “ to an entire Obedience to all his Dictates; to awe and
 “ govern those Nations by an Army that was inde voted
 “ to him and wish'd his Ruin, was an Instance of a ve-
 “ ry prodigious Address. But his Greatness at home was
 “ but a Shadow of the Glory he had abroad. It was

“ hard to discover which fear’d him most, *France, Spain,*
 “ or the *Low Countries*, where his Friendship was current at
 “ the Value he put upon it. As they did all Sacrifice their
 “ Honour and their Interest to his Pleasure, so there was
 “ nothing he could have demanded that any of them
 “ would have deny’d him.

To manifest this, the Author gives two Instances; one
 in his putting a stop to the Persecution of the Reform’d
 in the Valleys of *Piedmont*; and the other was a Sedition
 that had happen’d in the City of *Nismes*, wherein those
 of the Reform’d Religion had a very great hand, and
 for whom *Oliver* procur’d a full Pardon and Amnesty
 from the King of *France*, under the Great Seal of that
 Kingdom. * What he says here concerning the Sup-
 pleness of his Neighbours, is somewhat strain’d. But
 tis true, *Cromwel* made himself dreaded by Cardinal
Mazarine. The Affair of *Dunkirk* is no small Token
 of it; and our Author adds, that one Day, when Mar-
 shal *Turenne*’s Lady was to visit the Cardinal, and
 when he took his Leave of her, she, according to her
 Custom, beseeching him to continue Gracious to the
 Protestant Churches. The Cardinal told her, That he
 knew not how to behave himself, for if he advis’d the
 King to punish and suppress their Insolence, *Cromwel*
 threaten’d to join with the *Spaniard*; and if he shew’d
 any Favour to them, at *Rome* they accounted him a Here-
 tick.

To conclude *Cromwel*’s Character, “ He was not so far
 “ a Man of Blood (says our Historian) as to follow
 “ *Machiavel*’s Method, which prescribes, upon a total Al-
 “ teration of Government, as a thing absolutely necessa-
 “ ry, to cut off all the Heads of those, and Extirpate
 “ their Families, who were Friends to the old one. It
 “ was confidently reported (says my Lord) that in the
 “ Council of Officers, it was more than once propos’d
 “ that there might be a general Massacre of all the Royal
 “ Party, as the only Expedient to secure the Government,
 “ but that *Cromwel* would never consent to it; † perhaps
 “ (adds our Historian) out of too great a Contempt
 “ of his Enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many
 “ damnable Crimes, so he had some good Qualities, which

* Mr. Le Clerc’s Observation.

† Or rather because he thought the Thing too difficult and too odious
 says Mr. Le Clerc.

Part II. of the Earl of Clarendon's History. 61

“ have caus'd the Memory of some Men in all Ages to
“ be Celebrated ; and he will be look'd upon by Posterity
“ as a brave wicked Man.

* This is the Character our Historian gives of *Cromwel*, which may be depended upon as drawn from the Life ; not only by comparing it with the Actions of that Usurper, but likewise with what is said of him in the Memoirs of *Edmund Ludlow*, one of the Judges of King *Charles* and an eminent *Independent*, who being, at first, of the same Party with *Cromwel*, and having been in particular Intimacy with him, and carefully observ'd his Conduct, What he says of him seems worthy of Credit. But whatever becomes of the *Ambition* of *Cromwel*, and the Crimes he committed to satisfy it, *Providence*, who draws Good from Evil, has perhaps, contrary to the Protector's Design, by that very means, preserv'd a great part of the Liberty which *England* has since enjoy'd. If *Charles I.* or his Son, had finish'd the War with such signal and complete Victories as those were which *Oliver* gain'd ; they would not have wanted Men to have advis'd them to abolish all the Privileges that had been the Occasion of the War ; and this is not a thing that Princes are us'd to scruple to do. Our Author himself does no where strenuously enough declare against Arbitrary Government, but censures rather the Faults committed by the Court of *Charles the First* against *Prudence*, than the Projects which some of his Councillors may have had in their Heads to render him Absolute. It is however the most mortal Sin a Prince can commit to attempt to set himself above the Laws, and to have no other Rule of his Desires than those Desires themselves. That which may be call'd the Religion of a Sovereign, consists properly in the Observation of Privileges and Laws, in a Care to make his People happy, and in keeping Measures of exact Justice with the Neighbouring States. I own he ought likewise to observe the Duties incumbent upon him in common with all Christians. But He, upon whom even Kings themselves depend, requires, that they should above all things observe the Duties peculiar to them *quatenus* Kings. As a Subject shall not be Sav'd, tho' he should have the Virtues of a good Prince, if Providence had given him a Throne ; so no Prince shall inherit

* Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.

eternal Salvation for having the Virtues of a *Subject*, unless he joins to them the Religion of a *Prince*.

XVI. The 16th and last Book contains the short Reign of *Richard Cromwel*, who was proclaim'd his Father's Successor, but had not the Skill to keep that Post. It likewise gives an Account of the Divisions in the Parliament, which he call'd in *January 1659*; His Deposition; the Disorders among the Officers, and especially the Relations of *Cromwel* and *Lambert*; the Artifices of General *Monk*, who was the Instrument of the King's Return, which he brought about, by pretending to be of the contrary side; so that by his Means the King (*Charles the Second*) was receiv'd, and lodg'd at *Whitehall* the 29th of *May*, to enjoy a Crown which he was in very great danger of losing for ever.

This Extract is already too long to make an Abridgment of the last Book, the Contents whereof the Readers are desir'd to look for in the Original. To conclude; Tho' we have already observ'd that it were to be wish'd the Author of this History had taken Notice of certain Things which he seems to have neglected, it must however be confess'd, that he was a Man of extraordinary Abilities; that he has discover'd a thousand Truths of high Importance, which, but for him, would have been unknown to Posterity; and that he has not in the least disguis'd the Faults committed by those of his own Party, nor diminish'd the *Glory* of the great Actions of *Oliver Cromwel*, tho' at the same time he justly had a very ill Opinion of his *Moral Virtues*. It was this Usurper, who, in the past Century, first taught *Great-Britain* to cause herself to be respected by her Neighbours. For, from the time of *Elizabeth*, that Kingdom knew not how to make use of her Strength. Nothing has since been able to efface the *Glory* of *Cromwel* but the Reign of another Princess, who is equally admir'd at home and abroad, and who manifests, that *Great-Britain*, under a Legal Government, is able to Contribute to the Good of all *Europe*; without any possibility of Complaint from the Inhabitants of the three Kingdoms.

F I N I S.

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